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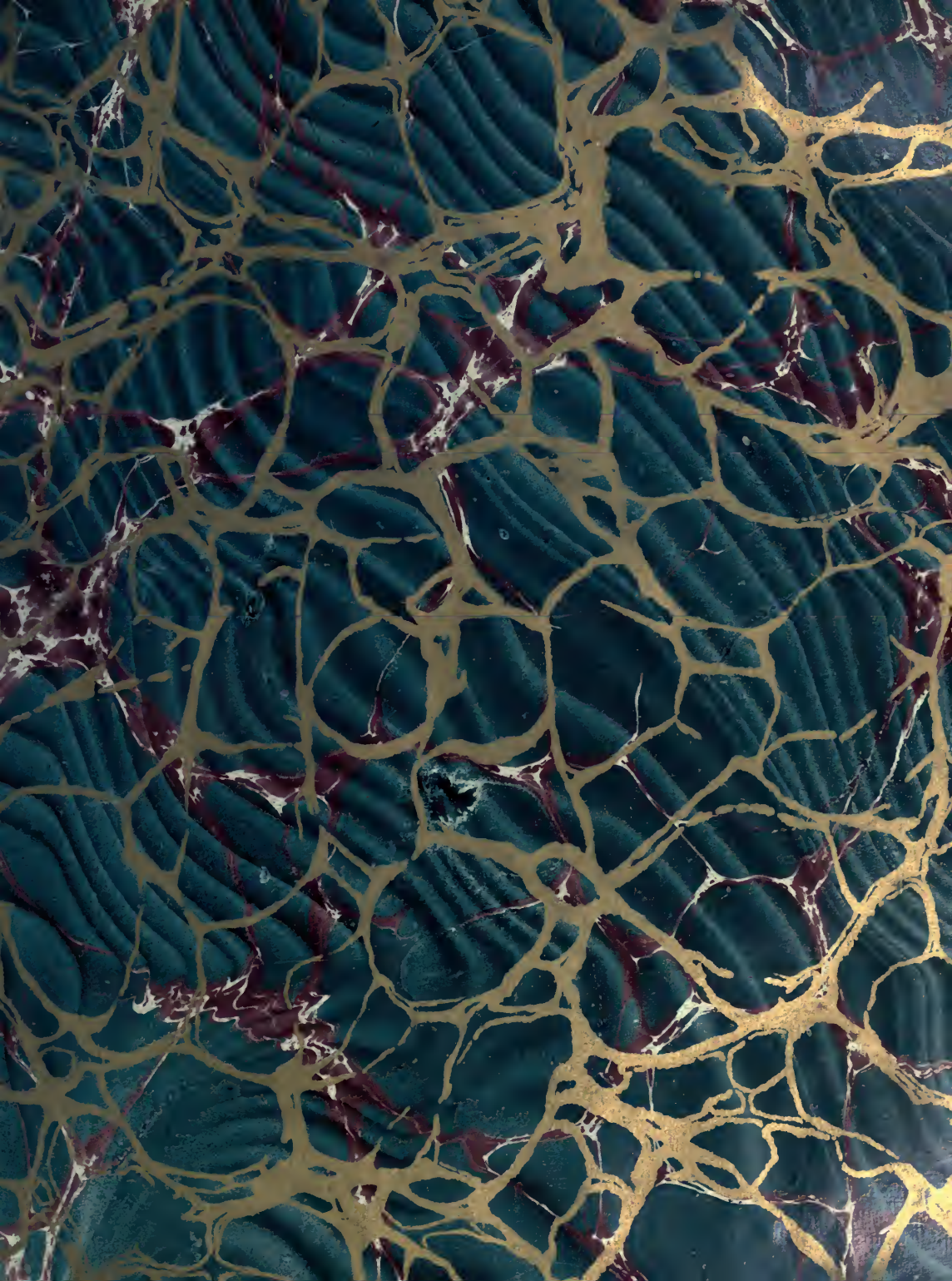

P J PALEY

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DETAILS OF DISCOVERIES MADE AT THE ANCIENT LAKE-HABITATIONS OF SWITZERLAND.*

Mr. Editor,—Your excellent Journal contains, in the July Number for 1859, an article giving an account of the lake-habitations discovered of late years in Ireland and Switzerland. After the general view given to your readers, it may be not uninteresting to examine in detail one of the localities which has just furnished new data concerning the industry and mode of life of the most ancient inhabitants of Europe.—Yours with respect,

Lausanne, 30th October, 1859. Frederic Troyon.

Railway excavations very frequently assist the researches of the archæologist. It is in this way that an unexpected discovery, made near *Concise*, in the latter end of July, 1859, has revealed the site of a former lake-habitation which is peculiarly rich in the remains of the "stone-period." A steam-dredge, which was set to work opposite to the nearest houses of Concise, to procure materials for a portion of the railway which passes the lake, soon brought up a number of ancient remains belonging to habitations of a remote antiquity. Numerous persons having been attracted to the spot as soon as the discovery became known, the workmen collected with great care every article which they thought they might obtain a sale for. To give an idea of the number of objects found on this site, it may suffice to mention that there have been collected in the museum of Lausanne nearly a thousand; in that of Yverdon, from 800 to 900; the museums of Geneva, Berne, Neuchâtel, and Chaux de Fonds, possess numerous specimens; as also the collections of the following individuals, Count Pourtalèi, at La Lance, Dr. Clément, at St. Aubin, Messrs. Rey and De Vevey, at Estavoyer, and Colonel Schwab, at Bienne. Many articles have been sold to foreigners. Professor Agassiz has purchased a number for the museum which he is establishing in America, and numerous specimens are scattered in the hands of various other persons.

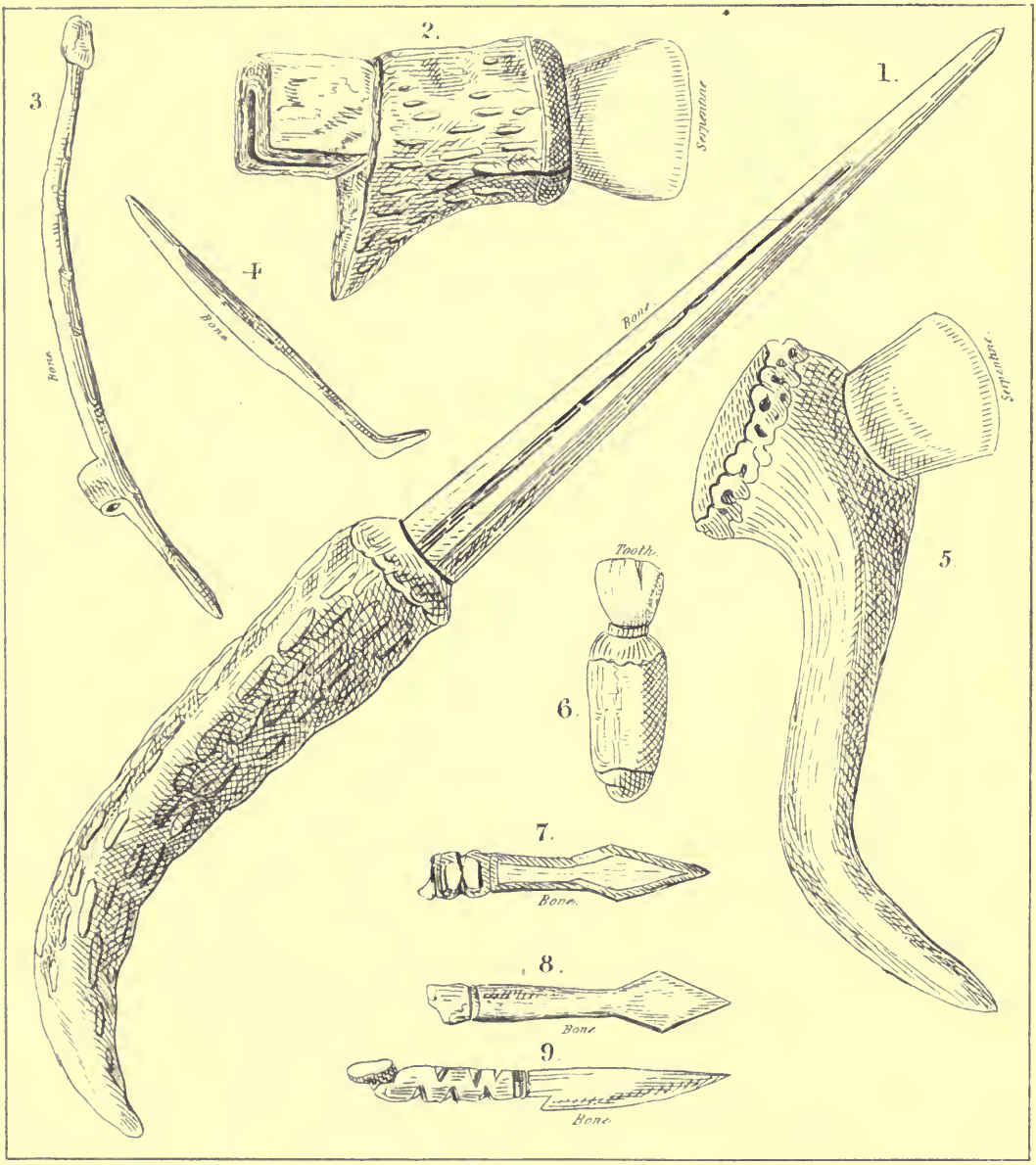
The objects discovered are remarkable for the variety of their forms, for the large use made of bone in their construction, and for the stag's horn handles found in several of the implements.

* Though this paper relates to discoveries made in so distant country as Switzerland, it throws so much light on the uses of the various ancient stone implements found in Ireland (especially in the North), that we have no hesitation in presenting a translation to our readers.—[Edit.]

Before describing these various kinds of articles, however, it is necessary to add that the desire of gain has induced some of the workmen to fabricate forgeries which have been sold to a considerable extent. At the commencement of the discoveries, which lasted during the five weeks that the dredge was working on this spot, these forgers confined themselves strictly to imitating the genuine forms, and giving a handle to an instrument which had lost its own one; but subsequently they invented new forms for which there was no authority in antiquity, by joining together different articles found in the lake; and at last, emboldened by the ignorance of some purchasers, they manufactured various implements out of common shore pebbles, bones, and stag's horn, amusing themselves by producing something uncommon. These forgeries circulated by the workmen will have a tendency to throw doubt on the authenticity of certain articles, and among others, on the manner in which they were provided with handles. Nevertheless, before regarding as a forgery any particular form reproduced by a workman, it is proper to ascertain whether or not the type of this form has been really discovered. Taking this as a rule, I am able to bring forward as genuine the following objects, either from having myself seen them taken out of the water, or from the testimony of Mr. Rochet and Dr. Clément, who were present almost every day at these discoveries, and collected a large number of specimens at the very time when found. On the other hand, every one of the articles which I describe bears in itself a character of antiquity which the forgers with all their skill have been unable to imitate.

The spot on which the dredge was worked is situated at about 300 feet from the shore. It presented the appearance of a hillock covered with several feet deep of water: its surface was composed of mud, and in no part presented any vestige of a habitation. It was in acting on this spot that the dredge brought to light an artificial bed, more than two feet in thickness, which overlaid the primitive bottom of the lake. This bed was composed of gravel, pebbles, flints of angular forms or broken by the human hand, and stones of from one to two feet in diameter; in the midst of which were found the remains of piles of oak and fir, wood charcoal, bones, innumerable stags' horns, cut or notched, fragments of pottery, and instruments of stone and bone. At some spots the dredge cast up mud containing seeds, with numerous *débris* of reeds and of small branches which had, without doubt, formed the covering of habitations. Lastly, some articles of bronze were discovered towards the north-east end of the site. These thousands of implements of the "stone period," stratified in a layer whose formation must have required a lengthened period, prove that man had occupied the spot long previous to the introduction of metal. On the other hand, it follows, from the presence of bronze, and from the improvements introduced into the manufacture of some primitive tools, that these habitations have continued in existence down to the period of transition from stone to bronze.

The *axe* is the instrument which has performed the principal part in primitive industrial operations. It was used both for the chase and, in case of need, as a weapon of war; while it likewise



ANTIQUITIES DISCOVERED IN AN ANCIENT LAKE-HABITATION IN SWITZERLAND.

served for domestic purposes of the most various kinds. At Concise a very large number of specimens have been found. With some rare exceptions, their small dimensions excite surprize. The cutting edge measures only, on the average, 15 to 20 lines, at the most, in breadth. The kind of stone employed by preference is serpentine, either opaque or semi-transparent. Several pieces, roughly hewn out, have fallen into the water before being finished; others have evidently been worn by long use; sometimes the edge is very sharp, but also often injured; and though some specimens present a remarkable finish, a large number have been manufactured with little care.

The discoveries at Concise, furnish us with very precise information as to the mode of affixing the handles. Occasionally the stone was simply fixed in a notch or mortise, made in a piece of stag's horn which served as the handle (see Plate, fig. 5). These handles are either straight or curved, according to the part of the horn used for the purpose. Two of the handles, cut into the form of a T, were armed with a sharp stone in one of the transverse ends of the horn; but most of the axes have been originally formed of three portions;—a piece of stag's horn two or three inches long received the stone at one end, while the other end, cut into four faces, entered into the mortise of the handle, as has already been observed in discoveries made at Estavoyer (Fig. 10). It is curious that the actual junction of these three portions has not been met with again at Concise, which, no doubt, has arisen from the handle having been made of wood, and not having lasted to the present time. But to compensate for this, the sockets for the handle, being of horn, have been preserved in large quantities: several of them bear the marks of wear caused by the grindstone in sharpening the edge of the axe; others being split by a blow, have been thrown aside; and more rarely (to judge at least by the pieces found) the stone has broken in the socket.

These *sockets* present several varieties of form. Some are nearly square; some have been cut in such a way as to produce a projection on one side, which rested on the handle (Fig. 2); others have been forked, as if for the purpose of introducing a wedge to fasten them more firmly in the opening which received them. One specimen is pierced with a transverse hole, no doubt in order to fasten it by a peg; and another, pierced parallel to the edge of the stone, received the handle in this opening of an oval form.

The *stone chisels*, which are likewise very abundant, are distinguished from the axes by having their edges of less width. Most of them are made of serpentine and of oriental nephrite or jade (Fig. 18). They are fixed into the end of a piece of stag's horn, two or three inches long; and the opposite end has sometimes a circular longitudinal hole, into which was probably introduced a cylindrical body intended to protect the handle from the blows of a hammer.

Small pieces of unwrought stone, nearly cylindrical in form, have been hafted in the same manner as the chisels. One of these cylinders is close to the end of a stag's horn pierced transversely to receive a handle, and may have been used as a hammer. In these primitive ages we may readily conceive that the place of the *hammer* would frequently be supplied by the first stone that

came to hand; nevertheless, these stones sometimes received forms more specially adapted for their intended use. Thus, we find fragments which have nearly the shape and size of the modern sledge-hammer. As for the stone-hammers pierced with a hole, we ought to consider them as belonging to the transition period.

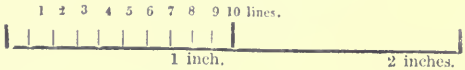
Paring-knives (like the modern saddler's knife) have been in much use. Pieces of serpentine, nephrite, and flint, have in general received a curved edge. The handles, which are often longer than those of the chisels, are straight, or made of the ends of antlers, or pieces of stags' horn forked naturally. Dr. Clément has one of these paring-knives, made of jade, fixed sideways on an antler, like an axe, but the use of which can scarcely be doubted, as its edge is greatly curved. (Fig. 12.)

The *flints* employed in making different implements, are for the most part foreign to Switzerland. We find, however, numerous splinters, which show that the manufacture of at least a part of these instruments was carried on at Concise. *Scales*, four or five inches long, by from six to ten lines broad,† may have been used either as weapons or domestic implements. Some are hafted like *knife-blades;* others again of a shorter kind, and rounded at the end into the arc of a circle, and fixed to the extremity of a stag's horn, seem to have served rather as *scrapers*. A large blade of this description, thin, and fixed firmly in a handle, may be taken for a *saw*; others, fitted to straight or forked handles, pointed, and having a triangular section, answer the purpose of regular *piercers*. (Fig. 16). Among the pieces of flint with handles must also be mentioned a small pointed one, only two lines in length, the use of which it is not easy to conjecture, unless it may have been used as a kind of *graver*. (Fig. 15).

The *javelins* and *arrows* have occasionally had their heads made of flint. Arrow-points occur, presenting the form of an isosceles triangle, or of a lozenge, with or without notches on the obtuse angles; others are made with a point which penetrated into the shaft, and also with two wings something like those of a harpoon. The shafts of these missile weapons have in all cases disappeared.

There have been found at Concise numerous *disk-shaped stones*, from an inch to two-and-a-half inches in diameter, with a hole in the centre, like those which are usually regarded as weights for spindles. The use of these pieces, however, is in reality very doubtful. The disk is rarely perfect. One of these stones, nearly oval in shape, is pierced with two holes; another, which is in an unfinished state, is pierced only half-way through, and the hole, which has evidently been made by some instrument which had a revolving motion, is widened out into a funnel-shape on each side of

† All the measurements given in this paper are in Swiss *feet*, *inches*, and *lines*. The Swiss foot is divided into 10 inches, and the inch into 10 lines. The annexed represents two inches, one of them divided into lines.



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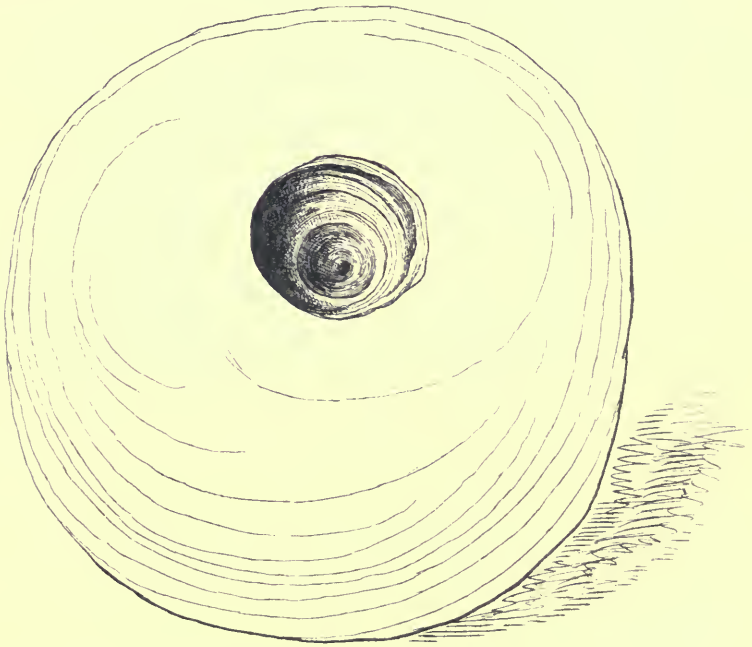
the disk, presenting the form of two truncated cones.‡ Pebbles of sand-stone, and other kinds of stone more or less compact, have been used for making these disks, and there are some of bone and even of pottery. One specimen, made of wood, of an oval form, may perhaps have been used as a float.

‡ Many stones, exactly answering to this description, are found in the North of Ireland. They are always of a very hard material; and the holes, though generally placed about the centre of the stone, are not always so. No satisfactory hypothesis has yet been proposed for explaining the use of these stones. That they were not intended to be pierced quite through their substance is evident from the fact, that very often the holes on each side are not opposite to each other, and they are sometimes very shallow. A specimen now before us seems to afford a solution of the problem.



We give a sketch of it, of the full size, showing the hole on one side, evidently produced by the continued motion of some revolving substance of a very hard nature, the inside of the cavity having a high polish, and showing a great number of concentric scores or slight grooves. This stone was found along with a *quern* or ancient hand-mill, when ploughing up an old rath or mound near Carrickfergus. Our belief is, that it was employed for supporting the spindle of the revolving or upper mill-stone, which has gradually worn a conical hole into its substance to the depth shown, about three quarters of an inch. On the opposite of the stone is another hole, perfectly similar, but more than an inch nearer to the edge, and worn in an *oblique direction*. It is therefore probable that this latter was the side of the stone first used; but that, in consequence of the oblique wearing of the hole causing the mill to be unsteady, the stone was turned, and a new hole commenced on the opposite side.—[Edit.]

Besides the unfinished and roughly hewn pieces which are found accompanying the perfect implements, and those which have been thrown aside after long use, there are also found many *splinters* of different sorts of stone, which have been made in manufacturing the tools; and many flint pebbles broken by the human hand. There have likewise been found, in the midst of these *débris*, some petrifactions, rock-crystal, and white coral from the Mediterranean.

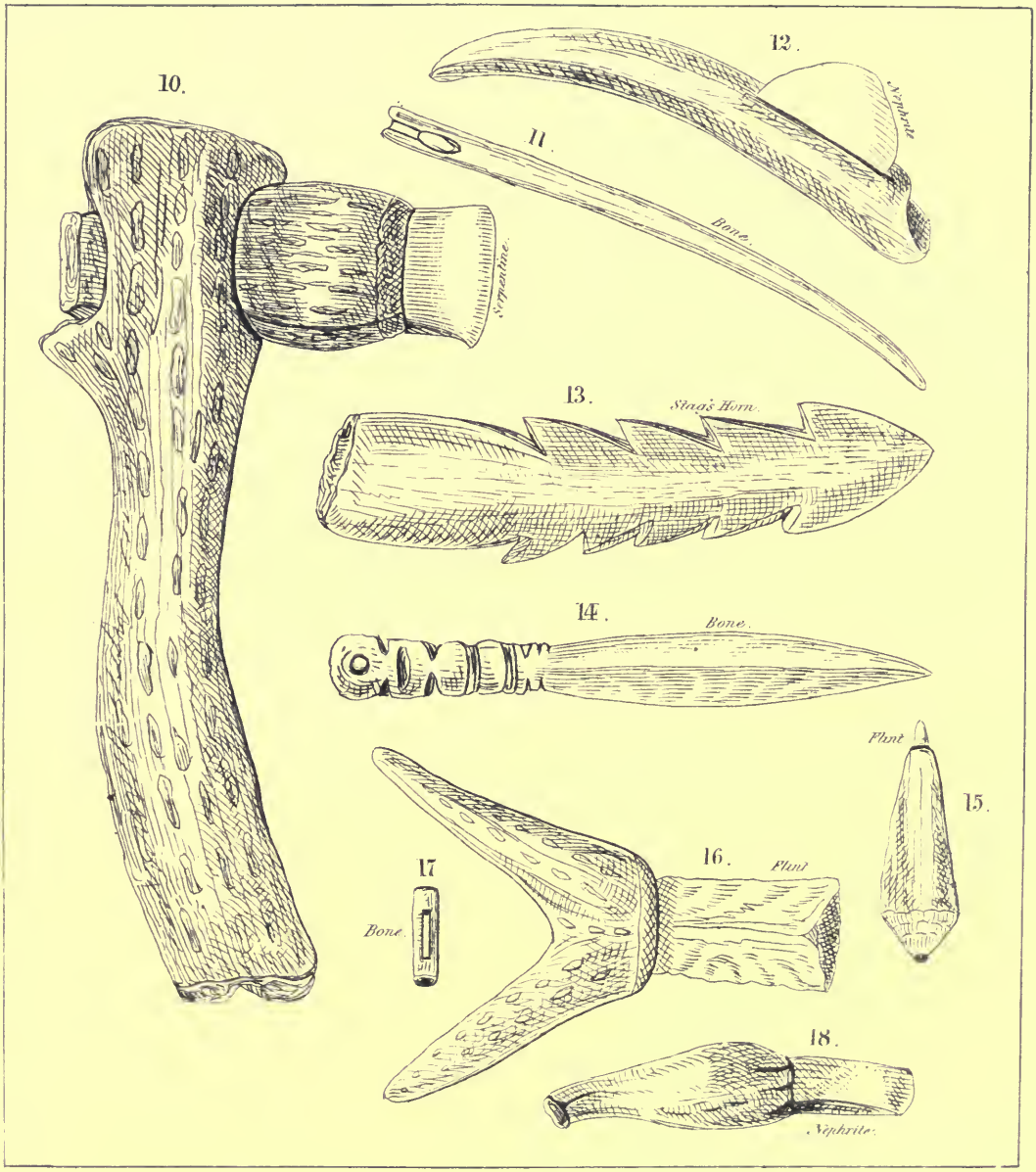
If the hammer performed an important part in the manufacturing of stone implements, the same has been the case with the *whet-stones*, which gave the edge to the instrument. These are found, made of sand-stone, in shape like a grindstone or lower millstone, with irregular outlines, and bear marks of having been worn away by friction. Other *grinding-stones*, made of a compact rock, present a plain or a concave surface, on which grain or fruit may have been bruised or pounded. Some stones, to all appearance, have been used as regular *anvils*.

Most of the forms of the stone implements are found also in bone; and this last class of objects which form quite a collection of tools, arms, and ornaments, is certainly not the least remarkable.

The largest sized and most compact bones were made use of as *hammers*, as were also pieces of stag's horn, into the spongy part of which was sometimes introduced a bone which was driven in as far as the surface where the horn was cut off. These hammers were pierced with a round or oval hole for receiving the handle, the position of which was occasionally oblique, as is remarked in some axes. The part of the wood which entered into the hole of one hammer has been preserved, while the remainder has been destroyed by the action of time, which explains the disappearance of axe handles when not made of horn. A violent blow has often broken these hammers, which are indeed rarely found whole. Although articles of wood are most frequently destroyed, a complete beetle has been discovered, made of fir. The wood being completely impregnated with water, and yielding to the slightest pressure, left no doubt as to its antiquity. The instrument had been cut from the branch of a tree, using a part of irregular growth for the handle.

Numerous *chisels* of bone and stag's-horn, of different breadths, and with or without handles, must have been employed for working on materials of no great hardness. This has also been the case with the paring knives of bone, and sometimes even of boar's tusks, which are found of a variety of shapes, one of which is still used by shoemakers at the present day.

The variety of *bodkins* is very great. They are generally made of ribs or shank bones sawed up, and more rarely of buck's horns, or the cutting teeth of the boar. Their length varies from fifteen lines to seven inches. The point is sharp and polished; and the other end often preserves the natural form of the bone; and sometimes has been cut so as to form an obtuse angle with the stem of the bodkin (Fig 4). The point is usually round, but is sometimes four-sided, or presenting two sharp edges. The head or articulation of the bone served for the handle; while those bodkins which were made out of splinters were fitted to a handle of stag's horn: such handles had likewise in their other extremity a cylindrical body driven into the spongy part, and which was evidently intended for flattening the stitches or seams.



ANTIQUITIES DISCOVERED IN AN ANCIENT LAKE-HABITATION IN SWITZERLAND.

Bone *needles*, straight or slightly curved, and from three to six inches long, are found provided with an eye, or even two eyes, near the end farthest from the point. In one of these needles the bone has been scooped out on the two sides of the head, in order that the thread or cord, passing through the eye, might not impede the action of the needle (Fig. 11). Another needle, pointed at both ends, is pierced with an eye in the middle of its length, where it thickens perceptibly. The eye is sometimes also near the point, as we may still see in some saddlers' needles.

We may, no doubt, give the name of *polishers* to teeth found driven up to the enamel in handles of stag's horn. The incisor teeth of ruminant animals have been used in preference (Fig. 6); however, pig's teeth have also been employed for the same purpose, and even one human tooth. Bones and stag's horn, in various shapes, have evidently answered a similar purpose.

Among the *undetermined objects* in bone and horn are several specimens, with or without a hole, cylindrical either entirely or in part, sometimes surmounted by a head or button, or sometimes merely in the form of thick scales. One of these objects deserves special attention, from the delicacy of its workmanship. It is a small piece, about seven or eight lines in length, and less than two lines in diameter, pierced lengthwise like a tube, whose cylindrical ends are hooped by two little straps, contrived at the time of cutting the bone (Fig. 17). The manufacturing of this article, which would not seem anything remarkable at any other epoch, is very interesting when we consider the delicate nature of the workmanship, and the limited means possessed by primitive workmen.

We have already remarked that the numerous splinters of flint and of various other kinds of stone, as well as the unfinished implements which have been found here, prove that the locality of Concise was at one time the site of a manufactory; and we arrive at the same conclusion when we examine the large quantity of pieces of stag's horn, prepared for the handles of different tools, these handles being more or less complete, or sometimes merely roughed out. They bear unequivocal marks of some instrument whose edge has produced a notch generally striated. We can also distinguish the action of the flint-saw and of the grind-stone. Some of them have received a polish which antiquity has not been able to destroy; and several have been nibbled by the teeth of some gnawing animal, most probably the rat, against whose attacks, we may readily conceive, the lake-habitations were not more secure than ships are at present.

The weapons found at Concise are peculiarly interesting. The *daggers*, in spite of the imitations of them made by the workmen, are known to be quite genuine, several having been taken out of the lake in a perfect state. The blade has been made from the shank-bone of an animal, first of all cleft, then cut and sharpened into the form of a large round bodkin, or triangular like a stiletto, or else like a willow-leaf. These blades are hafted with stag's horn, and this arrangement is not devoid of elegance. (Fig. 1). The entire length of the daggers varies from seven to thirteen inches. Other weapons, similar in all respects to these daggers, have a blade curved like the rib of a

skeleton. Their use is not easy to determine, as they neither answer for cutting or thrusting. It is likely that these blades were originally straight, and have gradually yielded to the pressure of some heavy substance, which has at length given them a curved form not belonging to the piece of bone used in making them. Some stout blades of stag-horn, deeply toothed on one side or both, (Fig. 13), remind us of some spear-heads discovered in the valley of the Mississippi. Another beautiful specimen, made of bone, about nine inches long, presents the same appearance. Others, made of split bone, from four to five inches in length, have also the lanceolate form; and the socket is formed so as to admit of the handle being fastened along the marrow-hole, by ligatures passing into grooves cut transversely on the bone (Fig. 14); a small hole is likewise placed at the end for receiving a peg.

The bone *arrow-heads* (Fig. 7) present the same peculiarities as the specimen last described. The form of some of them is lanceolate; others are provided with a single wing like that of a harpoon (Fig. 9); one has a point which entered into the shaft; some fitted in after the manner of a tenon and mortise (Fig. 8); and several have a degree of finish which we are rather surprised to find in missile weapons, which must so often have been altogether lost by the hunter or the warrior. The same remarks are applicable to the flint arrow-heads, which required no less labour in the manufacture; and it is to be presumed, that a part of the bone splinters, sharpened in the form of bodkins, were fixed to reeds as arrows, as, no doubt, at that period, all kinds of wood were made use of for this purpose.

Some pieces of bone have been found at Concise, which are scooped out and terminated by a button: these appear to be the mounting of the ends of *bows*, to which the string was fastened. Of the bow itself, being made of wood, no specimen has yet been found. Some stags' horns, deprived of a part of their branches, may be considered as a kind of weapon or club.

Bone has been employed likewise for making *personal ornaments*, of which some remains are still met with. Two hair-pins, ornamented with a head, resemble those of the "bronze period." The same use may, no doubt, be attributed to some small bone stems of a curved shape, pointed at one end, and surmounted by an egg-shaped head. These articles present one peculiarity, namely, a small ring on the convex side of the implement, not far from the point, and which has been cut out of the solid bone (Fig. 9). This ring, which is a part of the piu itself, though interfering with its easy movement, would facilitate its adjustment as an ornament, by permitting a cord to pass through it from the head of the pin. Pins of bronze, very similar to these, but having the ring nearer to the head, have been met with in Silesia.

One piece of bone cut in the form of a ferrule is exactly of the size of a *finger-ring*; another, which is highly polished and of a rounded shape, but unfortunately broken, must be the fragment of a *bracelet*.

Several beads of bone and horn, pierced with a hole, and some of them in an unfinished state, have formed portions of *necklaces*. Beads of stone are likewise found.

An ornament of a much more delicate description consisted of small oval scales, from 9 to 12 lines in length, cut out of the enamel of large teeth, and pierced with one or two holes for suspending or attaching them to the dress.

Teeth, particularly those of the bear, have been bored or notched so as to be worn as a kind of ornament, but probably also as *amulets*, as they are known to have been in subsequent ages, and especially during the latter part of the Pagan period.

The *pottery* of this primitive age presents everywhere almost the same characteristics, and does not differ at Concise from what has been discovered at other contemporary sites explored in Switzerland. Judging by the fragments found, and by six vessels which are nearly perfect, the cylindrical shape has been greatly used; however, several vessels, rounded in the bottom, are without feet. We do not meet with the clay supports which were used at a later period; but sometimes we find little protuberances, pierced with two holes, through which cords might have been passed for suspending the vessels, as is observable in the most ancient pottery of the North. Five of the perfect specimens measure only one or two inches in height, and fourteen to thirty lines in diameter. Three small vessels, two of them cylindrical and the other bell-mouthed, are of bone, or rather stag's horn. One of these has a little loop standing out from the rim, and must have had a wooden bottom fastened at three points, the holes for which are visible at the lower part of the vessel.

A *spherical hollow ball*, as large as the two fists, made of clay kneaded up with charcoal, and pierced with a hole, reminds us of the articles which have been considered by some as fire-balls.

The large number of different bones that have been collected afford material for a special investigation, which will throw much light on the *Fauna* of the country at the epoch of the earliest human habitations. The great use made of the horns of the stag shows us how common that animal must have been. The existence of the bison has been demonstrated by Professor Desor. Horns of the roe-buck are not uncommon. We have the teeth of the bear, the wolf, the wild boar, the beaver, and of various *carnivora* and *rodentia*. Among domestic animals, we find many remains of the ox. The horse, on the other hand, was scarce; but the discovery of a molar tooth of this animal leaves no doubt of his former existence. Of the goat, sheep, pig, and dog, many bones have been found.

It is, no doubt, to the destruction of the habitations or to some armed struggle that we must attribute the presence, in the midst of these *débris*, of three fragments of human skulls and two jaw-bones, one of them that of a man, the other of a child. It is to be regretted that these fragments are too imperfect for any deduction to be drawn regarding the race of this primitive people.

The rapid working of the steam-dredge has not at all times permitted as much careful attention to be paid, as would have been desirable, to many remains of a kind less striking to the

eye, but nevertheless having much interest, such as grains of corn, or fruits gathered for food. I am only able to mention the hazel-nut, the beech-nut, and the stone of the plum. Some filaments, probably of hemp, if not of the bark of some tree, suggest their own probable use, when we associate them with the bone-needles.

During the latter part of the work executed at Concise, the dredge, in advancing towards the north-east of the site, brought up several articles of bronze, from which we may infer that these habitations continued to be occupied until the introduction of that metal. Besides these, there have been discovered some stone implements which belong to the "transition period," during which, metals, though still scarce, were employed in perfecting the productions of primitive industry.

I do not hesitate to ascribe to this period the *axes* and *hammers* made of serpentine, pierced with a hole, which received the handle. These implements, which are seldom found uninjured, are 5 or 6 inches long, and are cut in the form of a hatchet at one end and of a hammer at the other. Judging by the fragments which are preserved, we can see that they frequently broke at the hole, and that this has also occurred during the operation of manufacturing them. The portions of unfinished ones show that the hole was made by a boring-tool, which hollowed out a circular groove, so as to form in the interior a core shaped like a truncated cone; and an attentive examination of the sides of the hole enables us to ascertain beyond doubt that the boring was performed by a rapid rotatory motion. This motion must have been given rather to the stone itself than to the borer, which latter would have had to describe a circle. To understand this method of boring, it is sufficient to refer to the present mode of hollowing out vessels from pot-stone. This consists in fixing the ends of a cylindrical block between the points of a horizontal axis, so that, when made to revolve, the block is acted on by a borer of soft metal placed parallel to the axis. This borer is then made to advance by little and little, until the desired depth has been obtained in the grooving produced by the friction of the tool. It is unnecessary to describe here the process by which the bottom of the vessel is made. The core which has been taken out is then placed once more between the points of the axis, and hollowed out in its turn; and it is in this way that are manufactured those sets of vessels which fit inside of each other. This kind of boring-lathe, of the most primitive kind, must date from a remote antiquity; for we know that the lathe has been known as a tool from very ancient times. The collection of Baron Renberg, at Prague, contains some stone axes, found, along with their cores, at the site of a manufactory of these implements in Bohemia. These cores when replaced in the holes from which they had been taken (which was easy to verify by the corresponding veins of the stone) left so little play-room, that it was evident they could only have been detached by a metal point, and not by a hollow cylinder, which could not have given to the hole its conical form, now quite apparent. Instead of the soft iron which is employed now-a-days in such operations, the ancients used copper or bronze; and, of course, water and silicious sand were likewise employed in the process.

While it is certain that this process of boring must have been the one used in many cases, it is also clear that it was not the only one. Many stone axes (not found at Concise, but at other places) have been bored by more primitive methods; and when the hole is oval, it, of course, cannot have been produced by a rotatory motion.

Sometimes the cores produced in the boring of axes have been made use of; one of them, found at Concise, was fixed on a disk made of stag-horn, but it is not easy to say for what purpose.

Some *piercers*, made of copper or slightly alloyed bronze, from one to three inches long, and round or square, might seem at first sight to have been intended for boring stone; but, not to speak of their slenderness, other specimens of the same kind occur at a period when all recollections of the primitive age have disappeared.

Eight *pins* of bronze, from 25 lines to a foot in length, are surmounted by heads, either round, conical, or spindle-shaped. They have generally fine marks engraved on them, such as do not belong to the infancy of art.

A *fibula*, which has lost the tongue, is made of bronze wire, the two ends of which are rolled into a flat spiral, presenting the form of a pair of spectacles.

A *ferrule*, three small *rings*, a convex *button*, a *bead* for a *necklace*, and a *knife*, complete the series of articles in bronze found at Concise. The knife, which is 72 lines long, and elegantly curved, is ornamented on the back with *striæ* and zig-zag lines, and, on the two sides of the blade, with parallel lines, dots, and portions of circles.

In the beginning of the present century, Captain Pillichody found, not far from this spot, but a little farther in the lake, beside the remains of a submerged canoe and of stakes which still projected up from the mud, a beautiful bronze sword, which has been deposited in the museum of Neuchâtel. It would thus appear that the habitations of the "stone period" were destroyed at the very time of the introduction of bronze, as only about a score of articles made of this substance have been discovered, while the others have been found in thousands. After this destruction, new habitations were raised during the "bronze period," at a greater distance from the shore of the lake. The higher state of preservation of the piles (notwithstanding their great antiquity) would, of itself, indicate a later period, which must have terminated, however, previous to historic times. On the other hand, the thickness of the artificial bed of materials, which covers the first of these sites, represents a period of time of considerable duration, and may correspond with the first migrations from the East to the West.

If we take a general view of the discoveries lately made at Concise, we shall see that this locality was a manufactory of some importance; and that the productions of industry present a great variety, considering the small number of materials employed. It is not uncommon to find in Europe implements of stone: the museums of the North have collected thousands of them; but the case is not so as regards complete tools with their handles, such as axes, chisels, knives, saws, borers,

polishers, and daggers. Many features are common to the "stone period" in all countries where its remains are found; nevertheless the very nature of the materials employed causes several modifications. Nothing can equal the beauty of some of the flint implements found on the shores of the Baltic Sea; but several of those found at Concise, made of bone, are unknown in that district. The abundance of flint in the North gave rise to the manufacture of daggers of a kind not met with in Switzerland; but, instead of these, we find blades of bone fixed on elegant handles of stag's horn. In the North the spear-heads of flint are remarkable. In Switzerland, we see the forms of our modern weapons reproduced in bone. We are struck with surprise on seeing so many forms exhibiting, as it were, the prototypes of those still in use in different branches of industry, and we are led to ask whether in this there may not be some reminiscence of a more advanced state of civilization, whose origin must be sought in the East.

The use of many of the articles cannot now be precisely determined; but we cannot fail to perceive that, besides being tools intended for cutting wood, several of them must have been employed for the manufacture of skins into clothing, straps, tent-covers, or the like. We should be wrong, however, in supposing that all kinds of cloth were unknown to these populations. At the site called Wangen, in the Lake of Constance, there have been found the remains of a kind of stuff, certainly of a very coarse description, composed of thick hemp twine or loose yarn, crossed like matting. The presence of hemp indicates a certain amount of agriculture; and this seems, contrary to all expectation, not to have been unpractised in these early ages, for, at several places belonging to the same epoch, there have been found barley and wheat in a carbonized state, which leaves no doubt on the subject.

These people, then, had as means of subsistence agricultural produce, the fruit and berries of various trees and shrubs, abundance of game, and lakes probably well stocked with fish. To these must be added all the resources derived from the domestic animals which occupied the cares of a pastoral life. The flocks were, no doubt, kept on the borders of the lakes, and required armed keepers, assisted by powerful dogs, to protect them from wild beasts. At the same time, it is evident that a store of winter provender, for the support of the flocks, would require to have been collected and sheltered from the snow and rain.

The discoveries at Concise, in conjunction with others of a similar kind made elsewhere in Switzerland, during the last few years,* are important for the historic data which they furnish respecting the mode of life of the first populations of Europe. All these implements, ornaments, and weapons, have the force of written documents, and are assuredly not less authentic than the assertions of historians. A manuscript would, indeed, give a name to this people, but would omit many particulars which we learn from this remarkable assemblage of objects, by whose means the antiquarian is able to reconstruct the history of man, in the same manner as the geologist restores that of eras before the creation of man by studying the strata of our globe.

* For an account of these, see *Pfahlbauten*, Zweiter Bericht, von Dr. Ferdinand Keller, Zurich, 1858.

Although the antiquities found at Concise are certainly remarkable for the variety of forms and of implements, still, when we compare them with the innumerable productions of civilized life, we cannot but be struck with the poverty of this primitive industry, and the limited means by which it was necessary to provide for the wants of man, for his food, clothing, lodging, and personal security, in a country infested by wild beasts. If a tree was to be felled, there was no implement available but a stone hatchet; if it had to be stripped of its branches, and hollowed into a canoe, still a stone implement must be used, with perhaps the assistance of fire. What toil must have been required to procure the thousands of piles intended to support the cabins, for driving them into the soil, and for preparing timber for building. Although agriculture was no doubt little developed, it was nevertheless requisite to turn up the soil, to reap the harvest, and to provide for the wants of the inclement season. Game was abundant, but the chase was not without its dangers. The absence of metal rendered every kind of labour difficult. Stone could only be cut by stone, and, the more limited the means were, the more ingenuity was required in the methods of working. In our own day we find this dexterity still among some tribes of savages who are unacquainted with the use of metals. The products of their industry resemble, in many respects, those of the first inhabitants of Europe. But these last were not in the savage state, which is characterized by immobility and isolation, or, in other words, by the absence of all progress and of all improving intercourse. Among savages a new generation adds nothing to the knowledge of the preceding ones, and we know that men cannot remain stationary without in fact retrograding. It was not so with the first populations of the West; for it is easy to show a marked progress during the "stone period." From the time that the first traces of a knowledge of metal make their appearance, we find it employed for improving their primitive tools. When we study as a whole the various materials employed, we see not only that each tribe manufactured its implements, and made use of the stones which lay at hand, but that there existed a certain amount of commerce, as proved by the presence of foreign substances procured sometimes from the most various quarters. Switzerland is but scantily furnished with flint, but she supplied herself with it from a distance, often in the crude state, if we may judge by the splinters and roughly hewn pieces which are found at Concise: she even imported the yellow amber of the Baltic, and the nephrite of the East.

The discovery at Concise, notwithstanding the original and peculiar types which it embraces, is not an isolated fact in Switzerland; and we are led to ask whether the first inhabitants confined themselves to the borders of the lakes. It is to be presumed that they grouped themselves by preference along the shores, in consequence of the security offered by lake-habitations; but it would be an error to suppose that all the habitations of the same period were raised above the surface of the waters. Unquestionable traces of human habitations exist in caverns. The graves of this period, which are characterized by some peculiarities in the mode of burial, are occasionally met with at a considerable distance from the lakes, and it is reasonable to believe that they would

not be very distant from the dwelling of the defunct person. The same remark will apply to the implements of stone which are discovered here and there in the interior of the country.

These general observations may be sufficient to show that a history might be almost reconstructed from these *débris*—the authentic documents of a period the remembrance of which has been lost by written tradition. An attentive study of the antiquities anterior to our historic era shows, besides, that the population of the "stone period" preceded the invasion of the Celts, who have hitherto been regarded as the first inhabitants of Europe.

FREDERIC TROYON.

THE RUINS OF BUN-NA-MAIRGE (IN THE COUNTY OF ANTRIM):—GLEANINGS OF THEIR HISTORY.

To see *Bun-na-Mairge* aright, it is not necessary to visit the venerable ruins by the light of the moon, as in the case of the far-famed Melrose Abbey, and, no doubt, many another structure similarly circumstanced. On the contrary, the pilgrim should approach this decayed shrine under the broad sunlight, and, if possible, during the afternoon of a calm, clear, autumnal day. There is nothing particularly attractive in the old monastic pile itself, if we except, perhaps, its appearance of crumbling helplessness, and its position amidst the graves of many a past generation. As the gate of the burying-ground closes after the visitor with a discordant creak, his eye rests on a grey, time-worn tablet in the eastern gable, and he presses forward to read the following inscription, now nearly illegible:—

> "*In Dei deiparaeque virginis honorem, illustrissimus ac nobilissimus dominus Randulphus Mac Donnell, comes de Antrim, hoc Sacellum fieri curavit.—an. Dom.*, 1621."

There is no evidence that the Mac Donnells did anything for Bun-na-Mairge, further than to adopt it as a family burying-place, and build that small portion of it specified in the above inscription. Certain archæological writers, as Harris, Allemand, and De Burgh, erroneously state that the monastery was originally built by *Somhairle Buidhe* (Sorley Boy) Mac Donnell, in the year 1512. But that stout warrior was not born until some years later, and during his very stormy career he seems to have had neither time nor inclination for church building. Other authorities ascribe its erection to a chieftain of the Mac Quillins, at a somewhat earlier date, an opinion that is at least countenanced by the existence of a manuscript list of Irish Franciscan abbeys, in the British Museum,

which represents Rory Mac Quillin as the founder of Bun-na-Mairge, in the year 1500. It is more than probable, however, that the foundation existed even prior to the coming of the Mac Quillins into the Route, and that the chiefs of that sept took it under their protection, as the Mac Donnells afterwards did. The ruins clearly show that the building was not all originally erected at the same date; besides, it was quite common to ascribe the merit of originally erecting such structures to chieftains who only had the honour of repairing them, or of adding, perhaps, in some respects, to the dignity and comfort of their occupants. The inscription above quoted refers only to the erection of the vault and a room above it, intended to be used as a chapel on occasions when members of the Mac Donnell family were being interred; but it puts forward no claim on the part of the first Earl of Antrim, or any of his predecessors, to the honour of the original foundation. It is curious, however, as preserving the *original form* of *dedication*—"In dei deiparaeque virginis honorem,"—and more especially so, as all writers on Irish monastic affairs are agreed that, in the year 1202, a priory was founded by William De Burgh, to the *Honour of God and the Virgin*, at some point in this immediate district. In the *Monasticon Hibernicum*, page 11, Archdall has the following reference to this matter:—"About the year 1202, William De Burgh granted the village of *Ardimur*, with the church and all its appurtenances, to Richard, one of the monks of Glastonbury, to found a priory to the honour of *God and the Virgin Mary*, which being done, the place was called *Ocymild*, and Richard was appointed the first prior. It is thus mentioned in the *Monasticon Anglicanum* (V. 2., page 1025); but M. Allemand changes the name to *Drymild*, and conjectures that it is in this county (Antrim); if Drymild be the true reading, we may, with some probability, suppose it to be Drumwillen, near Ballycastle." In the magnificent copy of Dugdale's *Monasticon*, published in 1846, and reprinted from the edition of 1817, we have a copy of the original grant above specified; but the editors merely quote in connexion with it the extract from Archdall now given. It may be mentioned that, in lists of Irish priories, the name of this Ocymild or Drymild immediately precedes that of *Rathlin*, a circumstance that would indicate its position as at some point on the adjoining coast. It was dedicated to God and the Virgin, and may have actually constituted the foundation afterwards known as *Bun-na-Mairge*. The conjecture that it was *Drumawillen* cannot be encouraged, as that was only another name for the old church of Ramoan, founded by St. Patrick, about the year 450. *Bun-na-Mairge*, "the foot of the river Mairge," was evidently a local name, but it is not likely that it was used as the *original* designation of this monastic establishment. *Bonamargey*, was the name of a little town at the mouth of the Mairge,* which formerly entered the sea at a point considerably farther west. The channel or bed of the stream was changed in 1738,

* On the 17th of March, 1601, one Douglas, a spy of the English Government, landed here, on his way to Dunluce Castle, for the purpose, it is alleged, of poisoning Sir James Macdonnell. Douglas calls the place *Boneargy*. There was a small force stationed in the town. See an interesting article in vol. v. of this *Journal*, entitled, the "Overthrow of Sir John Chichester, 1597."

when Hugh Boyd commenced to construct the harbour at Ballycastle, and its waters, instead of entering through the present mouth, had a more circuitous course, and fell into the bay, at the head of what is now known as the Outer Dock. The Bay of Ballycastle was formerly known as *Marketon* Bay, which was evidently the English form of *Mairge-town*. The old town has long since disappeared, and its name at present only exists in connexion with the ruins of the monastery. These remarks are intended only as suggestive, and have been offered simply with the view of directing the attention of some Ulster archæologist to the question. As it is, we know almost nothing of this interesting relic of other days, neither its original name, nor the date of its foundation, nor even a few facts connected with its history.

On looking into the dungeon-like apartment here known as the Antrim Vault, one is startled when told that it contains the veritable remains of men who had been great in their generations, at least as territorial lords, and whose names are becoming every year more familiar to us, as the history of Ulster is better understood. It is true enough, no doubt, that the most secluded or neglected burial-places *may* contain the ashes of persons who could have swayed the rod of Empire, had they been destined to such unenviable distinction. Nevertheless, it requires some little time and thought to reconcile us to the belief that these poor crumbling bones once bore themselves gracefully in kingly courts, or gallantly on tented fields—that this handful of dust is all that remains of that Sorley Boy who successfully asserted the old family claim of the Mac Donnells to the Glynns of Antrim, and afterwards annexed the fertile lands of the Route—or that, in this shrivelled coffin is pent up his grandson, Randall, who was permitted to die peaceably in his own house of Ballymagarry, nearly half a century after his three friends and associates, Charles the First, Archbishop Laud, and Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, had perished on the scaffold. Indeed, half-an-hour, or less, in this dismal vault ought to be quite sufficient to convince any thinking man of the vanity of earthly grandeur: and, as for ourselves, we have already become impatient to return into the sunshine of the open cemetery, where "the rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep."

"Shall we build to Ambition? Ah no!
Affrighted he shrinketh away,
For see they would pin him below
In a small narrow cave, and begirt with cold clay,
To the meanest of reptiles a peer and a prey!"

In the year 1820 or 1821, whilst certain repairs were being made in the apartment above the Antrim Vault, an oaken chest was discovered, containing four *Manuscripts* in a state of good preservation. A very interesting account of one of these manuscripts, from the pen of the late Dr. Stuart, appeared in the columns of the *Belfast News-Letter* soon after the discovery. We cannot specify the precise date of the paper containing Dr. Stuart's statements, but they may be

found quoted in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for August, 1822. The following are the opening and concluding sentences of his notice :—

"Some time ago, four Manuscripts were found in an old oaken chest in the ruins of the Abbey of Bunamargey, near Ballycastle. One of these is now in the hands of the editor of this paper, who will, with pleasure, submit it to the inspection of any person who wishes to examine antique manuscripts. . . . We know not where the other three MSS., found at Bunamargey, are at present. The one in question was presented by Mrs. Huggins to T. Millar, Esq., Port-Surveyor of Carrickfergus, who has kindly favoured us with a perusal of the work. It is, certainly, the finest specimen of penmanship we have ever seen, and the ink is superior in brilliancy and intenseness of colour to any at present manufactured in Europe."

The Mrs. Huggins mentioned in this extract was, previously to her marriage, a Miss Mac Murdo, a Scotch lady. She emigrated with her husband to America, and both are long since dead. Mr. Millar married Miss Dalway, who survived him, and afterwards became the wife of the late Captain Fletcher, of Belmont, near Carrickfergus. This lady has carefully preserved the beautiful manuscript, and at various times has obligingly permitted it to be examined. It contains a large portion of one of the principal theological works of *Saint Thomas Aquinas*, written on vellum, in very contracted Latin, and extending to about 600 quarto pages. The earliest date appearing on it is 1338, and the latest 1380. In the interval between the years thus specified, it it was probably written by two or three copyists. It originally belonged to the monastery of St. Anthony, of Amiens, in France, but *when* or *how* it came into the possession of the friars of Bun-na-Mairge, are secrets never likely to be explained.

This manuscript was exhibited before the Natural History and Philosophical Society of Belfast, in 1852, but the facts above-mentioned connected with its discovery seem to have been overlooked, or, perhaps, were unknown to the members of that learned body. One gentleman stated that he had heard it was found in the ruins of Bonamargey; another, that he understood the discovery was made in the ruins of Woodburn Abbey; but the general opinion of the meeting seems to have been that the manuscripts could not have remained amid *any ruins* for so long a period in such excellent preservation. One or two circumstances may be mentioned, however, which tend very directly to set aside this hasty conclusion. In the first place, the *fact* of the discovery is perfectly well remembered in the family of the late Ezekiel Davis Boyd, Esq., of Ballycastle, who obtained another of the four manuscripts, which is still in the possession of his daughter, Miss Boyd. It must also be recollected that these documents had been placed carefully in an oaken chest or box, which, in its turn, was left in a dry room, enclosed all around with thick walls, in which there was not even a small window. The roof of this room was always kept in a state of good preservation. Besides, it is not likely that a period of more than ninety, or perhaps a hundred years, had elapsed, from the time these manuscripts were left in *Bun-na-Mairge*, until

the date of their discovery in 1821. We must not suppose that the monasteries and other religious houses in Ireland were *all* deserted by their inmates at the time of the great *suppression*. On the contrary, the desertion was only partial at first, whilst many of the smaller and more remote establishments continued to shelter their little communities of monks or nuns until a comparatively recent period. As a general rule, wherever the landowners continued to adhere to the old faith, the monks and nuns were permitted to cling to their decaying establishments until they grew wearied, and went away of themselves. But when the landlords became Protestants, this change was generally, if not always, a signal for the monastic population to move off. Although we have no positive evidence that such was the case at *Bun-na.Mairge*, there are circumstances which lead to this conclusion. The tradition is, that the friars left the monastery early in the last century, and retired to a place called *Ardagh*, on the adjoining slope of Knocklade, in the parish of Ramoan.* This move was significant when taken in connexion with the fact that the first *Protestant* Earl of Antrim then held the estates, and came of age in the year 1734. Thus, the old manuscripts had not been left so long in *Bun-na-Mairge* as might be supposed, neither had they been carelessly abandoned to damp and destruction.

The manuscript in Miss Boyd's possession, although not so large or so beautifully written as the one already referred to, is perhaps more interesting in other respects. It consists of an English translation of portions of *Saint Bonaventura's Life of Christ*, made not later than the fourteenth century. The translation is written on vellum, in a free, fine hand, and covers thirty-five quarto pages, in double columns. Perhaps the translator's name was *George Theaker*, as, at the end, there is a note bearing this signature, although in a different hand from the translation. It is highly probable that this tract was one of a series designed to embody and illustrate the events of the New Testament. Theaker's note represents it as "*a History of the Blessed Scriptures*," but he may, as editor or translator, have desired to exhibit on each part the *general* title of the whole work.

Throughout the tract, *Bonaventura* makes certain appropriate quotations from the writings of Saints Augustine and Gregory. Thus, at page 4, we have the following, from a commentary by the former, on a portion of the Gospel narrative :—" Our Lord wolde not telle ho that shulde betray hym, for, as Seynt Augustyn saith, gif Peter hadde guyst whiche he hadde ybeen, he wolde have dasshid hym yn the teeth." At page 28, the author quotes from the same father, thus :—" A great and a hig solemnfou feeste ys the resurreccion of our Lorde Jesus, as wel for hymsylf as for us, for he, as a glouriss conqueror, apperede thanne, and we thereby juistifyed and made ryghtful. And this is a wel worshipful day whiche oure Lord made; for after Seynt Austin,

* May not Ardagh have been the original *Ardimur* of the grant? If so, this would account for its selection by the friars when circumstances compelled them to leave Bun-na-Mairge. Their place of residence in Ardagh is still known as the *Friary*,

in a sermone that he made—This day is holyere thanne alle the others." In the same page, St. Gregory is quoted as follows:—"What profit, as Seynt Gregorye saith, shulde it haue be to be borne, but gyf ourc redempcion ne hadde ybe." There arc certain curious references to the several appearances of our Lord after he had arisen from the dead. According to legendary authority, he appeared *fourteen times*. But whilst *Bonaventura* embodies this legend in his tract, and evidently believes in its truth, he is carcful to guard his readers against the conclusion that all these appearances are recorded in the New Testament. On the twenty-sixth page he states the authorities on which the belief of the early Church rested in reference to this most interesting point:—"Neverthelates ye shull understonde that in the Gospel beeth but X apperynges. For that he apperede to his moder ys not yn the Gospel, neverthelates yn the legende it is y sey of the resurreccionn yn divers places. And that he apperede to Joseph, of Arimathie, it is y radde yn the *Passion of Nichodemus*. And that he apperede to James, the same apostle hymsilf dyde write to the Corynthyos, and Jcrom tellith it also." From the above, it is evident that tradition had ascribed to James certain writings addressed to the Church at Corinth, and had preserved also the fact that some fragment was, at one time, in existence, entitled, *The Passion of Nichodemus*. But whilst *Bonaventura* admits that three of the fourteen appearances he mentions are legendary, he believes in them simply because our *very nature* proclaims their truth, or, at least, pleads with us for their reception as true:—"And, furthermore, thou mast well bethynke, and sooth it is that our blyssid Lord *oftetyme* visited his moder, and hys disciples, and Mawdeleyne, comfortynge hem, which were feruentliche sory for his passioun."

The language of this translation, generally, is not later than the fourteenth century, and if the manuscript originally belonged to *Bun-na-Mairge*, we have thus a proof that the monastery must have had an earlier foundation than the beginning of the sixteenth century. Mr. J. Huband Smith exhibited this document to a meeting of the Royal Irish Academy, and submitted, at the same time, an interesting account of it, which may be found in the proceedings of that learned body, for April, 1850, vol. iv., page 499. In one instance, Mr. Smith has erred slightly in confounding the *Mairge* with the *Carey* river. The *Carey* river and the *Shesk* unite at Drumahammond bridge, and from that point their *blended* waters constitute the *Mairge*. This word originally means "*the moaning*," and probably had reference to some peculiarity of sound emitted by its waters at their former entrance to the sea.

It may be mentioned, that a translation of *St. Bonaventura's Life of Christ* was published in 1774, by the Rev. Edward Yates.

Of the two remaining manuscripts found in the oaken chest at *Bun-na-Mairge*, we cannot speak, as we have never been able to discover how or where they were disposed of. A curious discovery was made last winter in a sand heap immediately adjoining the ruins. Heavy rains washed the sands from the side of this heap, and laid bare a reliquary, or small silver box,

the remains of old *book covers*, and fragments of small crosses. Here had evidently been another deposit of manuscripts. At the same point, in 1851, a key was found, of beautiful workmanship, and bearing traces of having been overlaid with gold. This article has found its way into the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy having been presented by Caleb Powell, Esq., of Clonshaboy, County Limerick.

But the principal treasure-chest of the monastery is yet to be discovered. Local tradition speaks unequivocally of a large collection of precious articles belonging to *Bun-na-Mairge*, which was hastily hidden near the ruins, on some pressing emergency, the precise nature of which is not known. So implicitly was this tradition received that searches have been actually made from time to time, for the recovery of the treasures which the monks are alleged to have buried in the sands. Tradition also has supplied a sort of clue for the discovery, which some have attempted to make available, but in vain. It is told that a light was placed in the highest (eastern) window of the monastery on the night of the concealment, and that the precious chest was put down exactly at the farthest limit to which the rays of this light reached. There is a solitary rock, or large stone, imbedded in the strand, a little distance above the sea-mark, at or near which the treasure was supposed to lie. The tradition, however, is becoming fainter in every succeeding generation, and it will probably soon die out altogether. The hidden articles may be revealed in some future age, long after the memory of them has perished from the district.

At the entrance to what had been the grand chapel of the monastery, there is a curious monumental stone, which tradition affirms was originally placed there to mark the grave of the *Black Nun* of *Bun-na-Mairge*. It would appear that this remarkable woman left strict injunctions with the faithful to have her buried exactly at the threshold of the entrance to the chapel, that the worshippers passing in and out might tread upon her grave—an injunction which was strictly obeyed, and which has ever since been interpreted as expressive of her entire humility of mind. The headstone is a rudely manufactured monument, having a round hole exactly in the centre, near the top, to indicate, it is said, that "the poor inhabitant below," had died intensely penitent. There is no written account of this lady, at least so far as we have been able to discover; but, if all her prophecies, austerities, and eccentricities were recorded, they would furnish materials for a small volume. It is generally believed that her name was *Julia Mac Quillin*—dark Julia—and that she was a member of the family that had reigned supreme in the Route for upwards of three hundred years previously to the advent of the Mac Donnells. Julia is reported to have inherited the personal lineaments, as well as the reckless pride and extravagance, of her race, and that, in her declining years, she sought peace of mind and protection amidst civil feuds in the calm security of the cloister. The peasantry, who speak of her almost as vividly as of an acquaintance who had died last year, do not seem to have ever puzzled themselves about the *time when* she lived. Dates with them are matters of no importance. What is past is past, but how long, they do not care to inquire.

Any references to the Nun which we have met in print would imply that she continued to haunt the ruins of *Bun-na-Mairge*, after the fashion of an owl or a bat, when her fellow-worshippers had died or deserted that shrine for other more modern temples. The local tradition, however, already mentioned, which preserves the substance of her dying injunction, is a proof that Julia lived during the period in which this house was used as a place of worship, and not subsequently to its desertion. Another, and perhaps a still more specific tradition, to the same effect, still exists among the members of at least one respectable Roman Catholic family in the district. The story has come down from sire to son in this family, that, when the Mac Donnells resided at Ballycastle, the Black Nun occasionally condescended to leave her cell and pay them a short visit. The time to which this tradition refers must have been between the years 1630 and 1642. Randall Mac Donnell, the first Earl of Antrim, built the family residence at Ballycastle, in 1630, and occupied it, at least occasionally, until the time of his death, which happened in 1636. His countess and her two daughters continued to reside there until a short time subsequently to the massacre of 1641, when they left Ballycastle, never to return. Thus, Julia Mac Quillin lived in stormy times—times of civil feud and religious rancour, and some of her prophecies partook pretty largely of the spirit which actuated her party. She may have been in the castle during the fatal day and night of the massacre, while the hapless women of the village crowded round the Countess, and vainly implored the protection which her ladyship either could not or would not afford. The Nun must have looked upon the Mac Donnells as usurpers of the inheritance which belonged to her own race and name. But they seem to have treated her with consideration, perhaps, with personal kindness; and, besides, at that period the bond of a common faith was strong enough to hold together those who might be opposed on other grounds.

On the supposition that Julia Mac Quillin survived the scenes of 1641, it may be inferred that her seclusion would become more and more severe after the dispersion of her friends, and the utter disappointment of her hopes, as a zealous partizan of the old faith. Before her death, the lonely creature's austerities had rendered her an object not so much of veneration, as of fear, to the rural population of the district. Many of her prophesies still float about the hill-sides and in the glens. Among other alarming predictions, she foretold the bursting of Knocklayde, and the consequent inundation of the surrounding country to the extent of seven miles. Another prophecy is, that immediately previous to that awful and extraordinary cri ss which will consign Ireland exclusively, and for ever, to the Irish, a ship will enter the Bay of Ballycastle, *with her sails on fire!* Indeed, all her predictions, with only one or two exceptions, announce the coming of very startling events. The only one, perhaps, on the list which may be described as *peaceful* has long since been accomplished. She proclaimed that a marriage would take place between two immense blocks of granite, which during her life time lay far apart from each other, but which were afterwards actually placed side by side, and fastened together by means of iron bolts, when, the Ballycastle harbour was in course of being constructed.

The original builders of Bun-na-Mairge selected an interesting, and, no doubt, appropriate position, whether we consider its natural attractions or historical associations. The district is now justly enough described as *remote*, by which we simply understand that it is distant from any point *at present* remarkable for commercial activity or social importance. But it was not always thus. There was a time when this beautiful Glen, now so silent and retired, must have been familiarly known through the land as the scene of important events, as a centre, too, of social and religious attractions. The echo of its ancient life, although faint, because travelling down the stream of Time so far, is nevertheless, sufficiently distinct to arrest our attention. The remains that still exist along the whole length of Glenshesk, and on the adjoining hills, clearly testify to its character of old. To make this plain to the general reader, it may be necessary to enter into a few details.

Traditionary history states that a leader named Partholanus conducted a colony to these coasts from some Eastern land; and the ancient legend describes his ships as approaching from the Orkneys and casting anchor in a bay belonging to that territory, afterwards known as *Dalriada*. This legend is curiously supported by another contained in the *Dinn Seanchus*, to the effect that Brecain, the son of Partholan, was drowned in the channel between the main land and the island of Rathlin, when in the act of making his escape with fifty curraghs, out of Ere, from his father.* Another important colony, known as *Fir-bolgs*, entered Ireland at this point, having first made their appearance according to Nennius, in the islands of *Ara*, *Jura*, and *Rachra* (Rathlin), and thence spread themselves over the adjoining coast of the mainland.

Now, there exist certain remains in the immediate vicinity of *Bun-na-Mairge*, and at other places in Glenshesk, of an antiquity evidently so remote as to induce us to connect them with those early colonists from the East. There are the eastern tombs and the eastern temples. In the townland called *Greinan*, a little way up the glen, curious and most interesting discoveries were made a few years ago. From a hill-side on the Eastern bank of the river Shesk, the tenants in occupation had cut away peat eight feet in depth, and when afterwards preparing the surface thus cleared for cultivation, they came upon a mound, which, when dug into, was found to contain several urns, besides a number of receptacles, each about two feet square, containing small fragments of bones which had been partially burned previous to interment. These graves had been most carefully and substantially constructed of unhewn stones, and protected by large smooth slabs taken from the bed of the river. The urns were enclosed and protected in a similar manner. The latter are composed of a deep red coloured clay, and the workmanship, although in appearance very primitive and simple, is at the same time neatly ornamented.

* The *Dinn Seanchus* is a volume originally compiled so early as the sixth century, and is found to embody a vast number of legends coming down to that period from the remotest antiquity. It is valuable also as a topography of Ireland, preserving, as it does, the earliest recorded names of places.

They are each about four inches deep, and fourteen in circumference. These remains were found a few feet below the surface, but the mound containing them had been overgrown with peat, as already stated, to the depth of eight feet. A stone pillar also still remains. Previously to the cutting away of the bog, the point of this stone just appeared, but it now stands more than eight feet clear of the surface, and is known in the locality as *Clough-virrha*. Farther up the stream, but only distant a few perches from the sepulchral mound, are extensive remains of an erection, which consisted of a vast circle of stones, having a *Cromleach* in the centre. The stones composing this altar are very black and smooth, exhibiting traces, in one or two instances, resembling *grooves*. In the adjoining townland of *Duncarbit* there is a place which has been known from time immemorial, as *Tom* or *Tam*, but the original cause of this name was only revealed in the Spring of this year, 1859. The tenant observed that one portion of a field, under the face of a high rock, had not been disturbed by any of his predecessors in possession of the farm. This circumstance excited his curiosity, and he forthwith commenced to dig. On getting about two feet below the surface he came upon soil which he described as being perfectly *black*, and very *soft*. As there was a large quantity of it, and as it appeared to him to be of a very rich nature, he determined to spread it over other portions of his farm, as top-dressing. On removing upwards of twenty cart loads, a neatly constructed pavement presented itself, in the centre of which was a large slab of reddish sandstone. On this centre stone stood an urn about a foot in depth and eighteen inches in circumference. It contained portions of charred bones, and had been placed in an inverted position on the slab. This tomb or *Tam* was, perhaps, the resting-place of a large number of bodies that had been slain in battle, or more probably, swept off by a plague. Such was frequently the fate of early colonists in Ireland, and the common grave was always afterwards known as a *tam-laght*, among the ancient Irish.*

Near the wall enclosing the cemetery of *Bun-na-Mairge*, stood a beautiful sepulchral mound, known as *Dunrainey*, which has been partially removed during the spring of the present year. It is not yet entirely demolished, and, perhaps, if the foundations were carefully excavated, some remains indicating its era and the precise object of its construction might be discovered. In the portion already removed, an implement of stone was found, resembling a hatchet. This relic is about ten inches in length.

At a little distance eastward from this point, and nearer Fairhead, there existed, until very recently, certain curious architectural remains of cyclopean dimensions, among which the ruins of at least two *Cromlechs* could easily be recognised. This spot is in the immediate vicinity of a cliff, which was supposed to have been untouched by human hand since the creation, but which was found to contain a cavern of a very extraordinary character. In 1770, whilst the miners in the Ballycastle collieries were busy at work, they suddenly introduced themselves into a narrow

* See O'Donovan's Translation of the *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. i., page 9.

passage, which was found to lead into this cavern. On entering the latter, they were astonished, naturally enough, to behold a complete gallery, supported by pillars, and branching into various chambers, forming, in short, an extensive mine, which had evidently been worked according to the most approved plan. Who were the original miners, and when did they live? There was little more than the echo in the old mine to answer. It is true, there lay the remains of their baskets and candles, which had been constructed differently from similar appliances of the present day, but they literally crumbled away on being touched, and before a conjecture could be formed as to the time or country of those who had used them. All traditions of them have utterly perished from the hills, a circumstance which proves, at least, the remoteness of the period in which they lived. The most probable conjecture that can be formed respecting them is, that they were early colonists, who must have had a somewhat advanced knowledge of the peaceful arts of life. If not Phœnicians (as has been supposed by the author of an interesting and able volume),* they were probably *Tuatha De Danann*, who appear to have been the most civilized of all the early colonists of Ireland.

In this accumulation of curious and very ancient remains, we have probably traces of eastern colonists, or at least of the immediate descendants of such, who must have occupied Glenshesk, at a period so remote as to have no history beyond the merest shreds of legendary lore. The name of the townland *(Greinan,)* is evidently formed from *Grian*, the name under which the ancient Irish worshipped the sun. Wherever a temple for this worship existed, a *cave* has always been discovered at, or near the *Cromlech*, and in this instance there is no exception to the rule. The cave was discovered a few years ago, in a beautifully rounded hill between the temple and the river. It is entirely closed up, however, and the hill which is regarded as "gentle" is allowed to remain in pasture. The vault beneath gives forth no *responses* now, except that it continues to speak distinctly of its origin and the purpose of its construction. The earthen urns that have been dug up prove that the place, as in other instances, was funereal as well as devotional, a union which has been found to prevail throughout all ancient mysteries, so far as the initiated have ever ventured to reveal them. Where the Cromlech and sepulchral remains are found thus in close proximity, the former is supposed to have been used occasionally as an altar of oblation where sacrifices were offered to the names of deceased and deified leaders or chiefs. The stone pillar already noticed was originally raised to the memory of some such person. We omitted to mention that a rude sarcophagus was found beside this pillar, consisting of several large stones exactly fitted together.

The several remains now mentioned are, undoubtedly, the most ancient existing in the glen, but there are others belonging to a later age, which speak no less distinctly of its local importance.

* Hamilton's Letters on the Coast of Antrim.

In the bed of the stream near *Bun-na-Mairge*, was found in 1808, a curious instrument of gold, the use of which has never, we believe, been satisfactorily explained. It is preserved in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy. This relic was discovered near Drumahammond Bridge, the point at which the Shesk and the Cary rivers meet. It projected from the bank at a place from which the earth had been recently washed away by the current. It is a rod thirty-eight inches in length, having a hook at each end. The rod consists of three distinct *virgae* closely twisted together, like a toasting-fork. Its measurement, including the hooks at the ends, is forty-two inches. It weighs upwards of twenty ounces. The workmanship, although very good, is entirely free from ornament.* In a field above the river, in the same townland (Drummeenie), a clasp of gold was found in 1858, by Alexander Simpson, for which he got the sum of £7, from a jeweller. At Glenbank, farther south, a labourer found an ornament of gold about the same time, which was sold for him in London, by Richard Davidson, Esq., M.P. In this townland are the remains of an ancient church, which Dr. Reeves thinks "is probably the 'Eccles ia de Druim-Indich,' which the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick states to have been founded by him in the region of Cathrigia (Carey), and to have been placed under the care of St. Enan."†

The Annals of Ireland record a great battle which was fought at *Ardagh*, on the western side of the Glen. The following is the entry in the Annals in reference to the battle, at the year 1095:— "A great victory was gained at *Ard-achadh*, by the Dal-Araidhe, over the Ulidians, wherein were slain Lochlainn Ua Cairill, royal heir of Ulidia, and Gilla Chomhghaill Ua Cairill, and a great host along with them." From the date of this disastrous battle, it is probable that the family of O'Carroll began to decline in this district, although it still continued to hold a highly influential position until the close of the sixteenth century. There is still a cairn in *Ard-achadh*, "the high field," which may have been originally intended to mark the grave of Lochlainn Ua Cairill. This monument stands at a place called *Aghaleek*, "the field of the flagstone." Immediately below Ardagh, on the north-western slope of Knocklayd, are certain magnificent remains of what had once constituted princely abodes. They occur on both sides of the old road leading from Ardmoy to Ballycastle. Of these the principal are *Cnoc-na-Keenie*, on the left hand, and *Cnoc-na-Cellach*, on the right. The former is now known simply as *the Fort*. It is very high, and from its position, must have been all but inaccessible. There is a cave in the centre, near the top, and a stone building once covered the summit of the mound. Cnoc-na-Cellach appears much larger from its higher position on the slope of the mountain. The hill on which it stands is clothed with natural forest. In the vale below there was a burying-ground, which is now, with the exception of a very small portion, under cultivation. These remains probably indicate the residences of the Ua Cairill in former times, and if so, they must have been originally constructed many centuries prior to the date of the battle above-mentioned. The only trace

* See *Belfast Magazine*, vol. i., page 100.

† See Reeves' *Eccl. Antiq. of Down, Connor, and Dromore.*

now existing in the district of this once powerful family, is a tomb-stone, in the burying-ground of Ramoan. When the old church there was pulled down a few years since, this stone was discovered in the foundations. It had evidently formed only part of a magnificent tomb. The sculpture was elaborately and beautifully executed. There were three dates on the portion thus recovered—the earliest 1580, and the latest 1620. There were also three names of O'Carrolls, one Richard, and two Williams. The names and dates were inscribed round the edges of the immense slab, whilst the family arms, together with emblems of death and immortality, occupied the centre.* In 1715, we find that a James O'Carroll rented the town, and town parks, of Ballyeastle, from the Earl of Antrim, for the yearly sum of £23 8s. The name of widow O'Carroll appears in a list of the inhabitants of the town, in 1790. She was the relict of a Dr. O'Carroll who had resided there, and who was probably the last male representative in this district, of the Ui Cairill race.

In still later times, Glenshesk became celebrated as a principal scene of conflict between the O'Neills and Mac Donnells, and subsequently between the Mac Quillins and Mac Donnells. At Duncarbit, already mentioned, Shane O'Neill inflicted a severe defeat on the Scots—so severe that the battle-field is still known as *Slaught*, or the Slaughter. In the townland of Craigban, nearer the sea, the forces of Mac Quillin met those of Mac Donnell in deadly strife, and succeeded for once in defeating them. The place of battle is called *Agh-na-havna*. The decisive engagement between these powerful families was fought at *Aura*, a mountain at the head of the glen.

Although, therefore, the position of *Bun-na-Mairge* may be *remote* now, it was certainly not so considered by its original builders. It stood in a district which is perhaps one of the most historical in Ireland, and was undoubtedly known as such at the time of the old monastery's foundation. We have gathered up hastily a few of the more obvious evidences of its former importance, although very many others might, and perhaps on some future occasion may, be specified. These remains, apparently so insignificant, are so many indices to the past: they constitute early annals of the district, and unfold, to a certain extent, the story of its inhabitants in the days of other years.

GEO. HILL.

* This interesting relic was carefully preserved by the Rev. Mr. Monsell, late rector of Ramoan, who had it cleaned and placed so as to be readily seen in the churchyard. Latterly, however, it has disappeared, and there is reason to fear it may have been destroyed.

LORD DEPUTY OF IRELAND'S HOUSEHOLD EXPENSES.
(CIRCA, 1580.)

HAVING, in a previous Number, given an inventory of the effects of a Lord Deputy of Ireland in the sixteenth century, I now submit to the readers of this *Journal* an "estimate" of the household expenses connected with that high office about the same period. And I may observe that, without being so particularly inquisitive as the learned Rabbi El Bassam, the celebrated Hebrew commentator on the Talmud, who is said to have spent fifteen years in vainly endeavouring to discover the ingredients composing the red pottage for which the hungry and impatient Esau bartered his birthright, we may still have a natural curiosity respecting the vivers anciently consumed at the vice-regal court, and also their prices. "Show me what you eat, and then I will tell you what you are," is the literal rendering of an expressive French proverb common enough at the present day; and so may we, in like manner, form a good general idea of a Lord Deputy's household, in the sixteenth century, from the quantity and quality of the provisions consumed by it.

Whether from ignorance of the art of keeping accounts, the clumsy method then in vogue of reckoning by the assistance of counters,[a] or the prevalent practice of denoting numbers by the cumbrous—in the more intricate calculations utterly unmanageable—Roman letters; whether, I repeat, from one or all of these, or other causes,[b] this estimate, like most, or, indeed, I may say, all, of the ancient household account-books, exhibits frequent errors in computation, and even, in several instances, the sums total do not correspond with the enumeration of particulars. Yet,

[a] In an edition of Record's *Arithmetic*, published so late as 1658, the author gives instructions for calculating by counters, and says—"The feat with the counters would not only serve those who cannot read and write, but also for them that can do both, but have not at some time their pen or tables [tablets] ready with them." It will be remembered that Iago, speaking of "a great arithmetician, one Michael Cassia, a Florentine," contemptuously terms him a "counter-caster."

[b] It would almost seem that arithmetic was formerly looked down upon in scorn, as a very inferior or contemptible branch of human knowledge. [See the preceding note.] One Lawson, writing so late as 1680, and alluding to arithmetical science, says—"Any member of Italian Babylon with . . . fabulous legend; and Mahometan, with his dreggy Alcoran; any flint-hearted Jew, with his Talmud, a mingle-mangle of Jewish, divine, and humane matters; any dead, dry, unfruitful formalist may grow profound, exquisite, nimble—yea, though involved in the intricate windings of degeneration, out of the royal state of regeneration and heavenly transformation, may apprehend the feats, terms, and parts of this natural art [arithmetic], as digits, articles, mixed numbers, ciphers, terniries, golden rule direct, golden rule reverse, a cube, Pythagoras's table, algorism, etcetera, yet be strangers to the divine exercise which leads to the Lion of the tribe of Judah."—*A Mite into the Treasury, being a Word to Artists, especially to Heptatechnists.* London, 1680.

there is a shadow of excuse for its ancient compiler. From some other documents in the same hand-writing, bound up in the same volume, he appears to have been a herald, and, consequently, would be better acquainted with dragons *rouge* and griffins *vert*, than the less honorable, though more useful, "beeves" and "muttons," with *or* and *argent* as metals of blazon, than as a circulating medium of pounds and shillings. Dare I say, as another apology for his arithmetical blunders, that he was a dabbler in rhyme, and has handed down to us, in the following lines, the time and occasion

OF THE FOUNDATION OF HERAULDES.

"What tyme the worthie Alexander, at whose triumphant fame
The earth did shake, repayred to Inde for conquest of that same,
Then noble Porus, kinge thereof, whome to his ayde had there
Twice twenty kinges and hundreds four of beastes that towers did bear,
Who challenged Alexander, there, with shielde and speare in hande,
To try with him the victory, and that theire hostes shoulde stande;
And he that best behaved himselfe, and wonne the victorie,
Should vanquish others hoaste that daye and praised for chivalrye.
Which saying, when Alexander, by iuste reporte did knowe,
And how within his valient breste noe cowardness did growe;
Lord, how he joyed in Porus, then his marshall mynde did cease,
And saide, O seconde Alexander, thy courage yieldes the peace."

The "estimate," though not dated, was certainly written about 1580, and will be found among the Sloane MSS. (No. 1742) in the British Museum. To avoid typographical errors, and render the document intelligible to the general reader unversed in ancient accounts, I have reduced the complicated reckonings, by scores, dozens, &c., to simple numbers and plain pounds, shillings, and pence. I have also changed the Roman letters signifying numbers to the more modern Arabic numerals.[c] Where errors in computation seem mere slips of the pen—for example, where one figure or amount is evidently put in the place of another—I have corrected them; in other instances, I have let them remain as in the original.

[c] As an instance of the complication caused by the mixture of Roman and Arabic numerals, I may quote the following "example" from Record's *Arithmetic*:—"If I make this number, 91,359,684, at all adventures there are eight places. In the first place is 4, and betokeneth but four; in the second place is 8, and betokeneth ten times 8, that is 80; in the third place is 6, and betokeneth 600; in the fourth place, 9 is 9,000; and 5, in the fifth place, is XM times five, that is fifty M. So 3, in the sixth place, is CM times 3, that is CCCM. Then 1, in the seventh place, is one MM.; and 9, in the eighth, ten thousand thousand times 9, that is XCMM., *i.e.* XC. thousand thousand CCCLIX thousand, 684, that is VICLXXXiiij."

The above extract is from a school-book intended to teach children arithmetic! but those among us who are able to recollect *Gough* will not be much surprised.

"An Estimate of the Yerelie Expenses of the Lorde Deputie of Irelande for his House and Table with other extraordinarie Chardges, by good and perfect viewe of the Bookes kepte therof, as alsoe by the Experience and Judgements of them that have continuall dealinge therein.

In Beoves[d] by the week 10, over and above 40 beoves allowed for ffestival times, at 20s. ster. a peece—£500 in money, ...	£500	0	0
Muttons by the week 36, amountinge unto, per ann., to 1,700, at 2s. 8d., one with another, ...	226	13	4
Veales by the yere 70, at 6s. 8d., one with another, ...	24	6	8
Porkes by the yere 60, at 6s. 8d., one with another, ...	20	0	0
Brawnes[e] by the yere 6, at 20s. a peece, one with another, ...	6	0	0
All kindes of ffresh Acates,[f] as ffoule, wylde and tame, pig, lambe, rabbetts, eggs, sweete butter, ffresh ffyshe, etcet., by the weeke in estimacion, £7—per annum, ...	364	0	0
White lightes, 214 dosen per ann., at 3s. a dosen, ...	32	2	0
Sturbridge[g] linge, 100, at 6s. 8d. the couple, one with another,[h]	20	0	0

[d] Beeves.

[e] Fat hogs.

[f] From the French *achats*, and signifying articles purchased for the daily use of a house, in contradistinction to those supplied by purveyors.

"A gentle Manciple was ther of a temple,
Of which *achatours* mighten take exemple,
For to be wys in beyyng of vitaille.
For whether that he payde, or took by taille,
Algate he wayted so in his *acate*,
That he was ay biforn and in good state."
—*Canterbury Tales.*

"The Mantuan, at his charges, him allowed
All fine *acates* that that same country bred."
—Harrington's *Orlando Furioso.*

In Henry the Eighth's household there was a sergeant of the Acatry whose duty was "to make provyson of freshe acates, as well for fleshe as for fishe."

[g] One of the greatest of the old English fairs was held at Stourbridge, on the banks of the Stour, a small rivulet close to the town of Cambridge. Before provincial towns had attained wealth and consequence, and when communication between them was difficult and dangerous, the necessaries of life could only be procured at stated times and fixed depôts. It was usual, therefore, to travel several hundred miles to a fair, to dispose of produce, and lay in stores of food and clothing for the ensuing year. The priories of Maxtoke, in Warwickshire, and Bicster, in Oxfordshire, purchased their stores of wine, wax, salt, provisions, wheat, &c., at Stourbridge fair. From the Northumberland *Household Book*, we learn that the Earl's house at Wressil was supplied from the same place; and by the above we see that the Lord Deputy's table in Dublin was furnished with salt fish from Stourbridge fair. Tusser, in his *Husbandry*, says:—

"At Bartlemew tide or at Sturbridge fair,
Buie that is needful, thy house to repaire."

[h] This is correct, reckoning by the *long* hundred, according to the old English adage—

"Five score of men, money and pins,
Six score of all other things."

The old Teutonic hundred of six score is derived from the Scandinavian *tolfraed*, whence our word *twelve*, which converted ten into twelve, and one hundred into one hundred and twenty. By the statute 25 Henry VIII. Cap. 13. no person shall have above two thousand sheep on his lands; and the twelfth section (after reciting that the hundred in every country be not alike, some reckoning by the great hundred, or six score, and others by five score), declares that the number two thousand shall be accounted ten hundred for every thousand after the number of the great hundred, and not after the less hundred, so that every thousand shall contain twelve hundred after the less number of the hundred.

Old huberdame,[i] 100, at 1s. 4d. the couple, ...	4	0	0
Irish linges, 70 dosens, at 8s. the dosen, one with another, ...	43	0	0
Grene codd and drie codd, 140 dosen, at 4s. 6d. the dosen, ...	36	0	0
Sturgion, two keggs, at 16s. a peece, ...	1	12	0
White hearinges, 12 barrells, at 8s. a barrell, one with another, ...	4	16	0
Red hearinges, 3 eades, at 7s. le eade, and red spratts, 2 eades, at 2s. le eade, ...	1	5	0
Salte butter, 14 barrells, at £2 5s. a barrell, one with another, ...	31	10	0
Baye salte, 40 hh.[k] per ann., at 10s. le hh., one with another, ...	20	0	0
White salte, 6 barrells per ann., at 8s. le barrell, one with another, ...	2	8	0
Otemeal, 6 barrells per ann., at 8s. 4d. le barrell, ...	4	0	0
Vineger, 4 hoggesheades, at £2 13s. 4d. le hh., and verges[l] one hh., at £1 le hh.,	11	10	0
Hopps, 1,220 lbs., at £8[m] le hundred, one with another, ...	54	16	8
Spices of all sortes by the week, £1 6s. 8d. per ann., £69 6s. 8d., Alsoe banquettinge stuffe and sweet meates per ann., £10, in all, ..	79	6	8
Fruites for Sommer, as Apples, Peares, Plums, and Cherries, per. ann., ...	1	10	0
Clarret wyne 6 Tonnes per ann., at £18, le Tonne, ...	108	0	0
Sacke[n] two Tonnes demi per ann., at £28, le Tonne, ...	70	0	0

[i] Randle Home says :—"A Haberdine or Island [Iceland] fish, of some called Poor John, it is the worst sort of ling fish, though very often it doth pass for it, because it is of so near relation, and so much resembles it in colour and forme; it is by the Latins termed Asinus Piscis, Leopardus and Molus, because this fish is variously spotted." *Academy of Armory.*

Willughby, however, says that it was a cod fish and derived its name from the town of Aberdeen. "*The Cod* —Asellus Major Vulgaris (maxima Asellorum species), Piscis hic pro locis ubi capitur ant modis quibus salitur et induratur aliterve præparatur varia sortitur nomina. Hinc *Green-fish*, i.e. Asellus Groenlandicus; *North Sea Cod*, i.e. Oceani Septentrionalais Asellus; *Haberdeen*, i.e., Asellus Aberdonensis." "A lytill codde called habburdyn" is mentioned in the *Lestrange Household Accounts*. For my own part however, I have an idea that the haberdine was not a cod but a haddock, and that its name, instead of being derived from Aberdeen, was merely a corruption of *aigrefin*, the old French name of that fish.

At Sir John Neville's feast, when Sheriff of Yorkshire at the Lammas assizes, in 1529, three couple of great ling cost twelve shillings, and forty couple of huberdine, two pounds.

[k] Hogsheads.

[l] "Verguyce," Venner says, "is made of unripe grapes, or other unripe sower apples, is like vinegar in operation, saving that it is of a more cooling nature and, therefore, more agreeable for hot and cholerick bodies."—*Via Recta.* From the prevalence of scurvy, caused by eating salt provisions, vinegar and verjuice were actual necessaries of life in the olden time.

[m] Evidently an error. According to Harrison, hops, about the same period in England, cost from ten-pence to a shilling per pound. This price would come pretty near to the sum total as given in the estimate.

[n] There was no mention of Sack in Lord Grey's inventory. In fact the strong hot wines of the south of Europe did not come into fashion or general use in England, until nearly the close of the sixteenth century, consequently Shakespeare's representation of Falstaffe, and his roystering companions drinking Sack, in Henry the Fourth's time, is simply an anachronism. Not only in this, but in several other instances, the great dramatist attributed the customs

Sea coales 250 Tonnes per ann., at 5s. le Tonne, one with another, with 8d. for the carriage of everie Tonne, ...	79	3	4
Wood 78 Tonnes per ann., at 5s. le Tonne, with 8d., for the carriage of a tonne,	19	16	8
Porte wheate[o] for course wheate at 2s. 6d. le peck, as alsoe for fflower for the pastrie of 626 pecks of Porte measure amountinge in money to ...	84	10	0
Ffine wheate to be provided and bought in the markett, for fyne mannchetts for his owne Table, at 6s. le peck, one with another.	30	0	0
Alsoe wheate of the Porte for Head Corne, for 42 Brewings per ann., alloweing 2 pecks to everie Breweing, 84 pecks at 2s. 6d. le peck, ...	10	10	0
Beere Malte first to make 6 good Brewinges for Beer onelie for his lordshippe 30 Tonnes alloweing to everie Tonne pecks, ...			
N.B.—Besides 122 pecks of Oatemeale, 4 pecks Porte measure, at 2s. 6d. le peck, 122 pecks.	15	10	0
Beare Malte more for 36 Breweinges, for the housholde breweinge, 180 Tonnes allowinge to evrie 5 Tonnes 12 pecks statute measure, besides 32 pecks of Oatemeale to evry of the sayd 5 Tonnes, 430 peckes, at 2s. 6d. le peck, ...	54	0	0
Oat Malte, first for the 6 Brewinges, alloweinge to evrie Tonne, besides 4 pecks Beare Malte as aforesaid; Alsoe Oat Malte for the rest of 42 Breweinges, which commeth to 176 Tonne, alloweinge to evrie 5 Tonne 32 pecks statute measure at 1s. 8d. le peck	96	0	0
Ffor the chardges of cooprage for the said 200 Tonnes of Beere at 2s. 6d. evry Breweinge, ...	5	5	0
More for the hire of 2 laborers to helpe the brewer for 42 brewings at 3s. every breweinge, ...	6	6	0
Ffor the carriage and Breweinge of 205 Tonnes of beer p. ann., at 1s. 4d. le Tonne, Alsoe for the carriage and fetchinge of 205 Tonnes emptie casque at 2s. every Tonne, ...	17	16	4
Ffewel as Ffurres[p] and brushe bavens, had from Kilmanigham payeing onelie for cuttinge, carriage, and rickeing for the said 42 Breweinges, alloweing to every Breweinge 400 Ffaggotts—16,800 at 8d. every hundred cuttinge, and 7d. every hundred carriage, ...	8	6	0

of earlier periods and distant lands to his own time and country. Taylor, in his *Drink and Welcome*, published in 1637, tells us that:—"Sacke is second nature to man, and that the physitians knew when they confinde it to the apothecaries shops (which was till neere the end of King Henrie the Eight's Raigne, about the yeere 1543) till which time none but the apothecaries, had the honour to sell Sack, and that was onely for Medicine, and for sicke folkes; but, though now it be more dispersed into great men's houses and ventners' cellars, yet it hath obtained no absolute freedom to this day."

[o] Probably wheat purchased at market. A port sale signified a sale in open market.

[p] Furze.

More Ffurres and brushe ffaggottes for the bake, pastrey, and laundry 16,000 at like rates; Alsoe for sondreye neecessaryes for housholde chardges per ann., as ffollowes:—Brushes, Bowes, Broomes, Tubbes, Payles, Fferists,[q] Drayes, Cloffes for jorneys, ryding chardges, removings, recorders for presents, with sondrey other extraordinarie disbursements, by estimacion, per ann., ...	100	0	0
Sum Totalis of the whole chardges of the house, ...	2215	15	4
Sum Totalis of all the chardges requisite to the Lorde Deputie's house, as well of household wages, lyveries, and table chardges arise unto per ann., ...	3344	0	4

The brewing account is scarcely comprehensible. I consulted a gentleman favourably known to the readers of this Journal on the matter, and he advised me to "print it accurately as it stands without note or comment," and I have done so. I have since, however, met with the following memorandum among the State Papers, which may probably throw some light on the subject. It is signed "H.S.," in all probability the initials of Henry Lockford, a commissary, whose name frequently appears in the Irish papers of the period; it is noted on the back in Lord Burleigh's handwriting, and though un-dated, was written about 1580:—

"Porte Corne payde yearly to the Ld. Deputie of Irelande in severall kindes, viz:—in Wheate, Beare Malt, and Ote Malt, Pecks 2,100.

"Of Wheate, Clean Corne, ...	Pecks,	700
Beare Malte, ...	Pecks,	466
Ote Malte, ...	Pecks,	932
Remayneth of the nomber to be devyded into 3 partes, ...	Pecks,	2
		2100

"The diversitie of measures of the severall Counties comenly caulyd the Inglishe Shyres to be consyderyd.

The Countie of Kylkenny, ... wheate the Peck, ...	Bushells, 4 / Gallons, 32
The Countie of Kylkenny, ... Ote Malte the Peck, ...	Bushells, 8 / Gallons, 64
The Porte of the Countie of Meath pecks,	
Wheate clean the Peck, ...	Bushells, 2, demye.
Beare Malte the Peck, ...	Bushells, 2, demye.
Ote Malte the Peck, ...	Bushells, 2, demye.

[q] Fire steels for striking a light with flint.

To make one Hogshead houshold Beare,

Beare Malte, ...	Demy Peck.
Ote Malte, ...	Pecks, 2.

To Make of the strongyst Beare,

Beare Malte, ...	One Peck.
Ote Malte, ...	One Peck."

It may scarcely be necessary, in order to place the above memorandum in a clearer point of view, to state, that according to it, in Kilkenny, the peck (port measure) of wheat contained four bushels or thirty-two gallons; and the peck of oat-malt, in the same county, contained eight bushels, or sixty-four gallons; while in Meath, the peck of either clean wheat, beare malt, or oat malt, contained two and a half bushels. Again half a peck of bear malt and two pecks of oat malt were used to brew a hogshead of household beer; while for the strongest beer, one peck of bear malt and one of oat malt were required. These it must be observed were "porte" pecks, and if we convert them into English measure, we find that a very similar quantity was used at the same period in England. The brewer of Viscount Montague[r] was ordered to make eighteen gallons of good wholesome beer out of every bushel of malt; and Arnold's *Chronicles* gives the following quantities:—

"To brewe Beer. Ten quarters of malte. Two quarters of wheete. Two quarters of oates, forty pound weyght of hoppys, to make sixty barrellys of sengyl beere; the barrell of ale conteynes thirty-two galones, and the barrell of beere thirty-six galones."

Harrison tells us that his wife, from eight bushels of malt, half a bushel of wheaten meal, and a half a bushel of oaten meal, brewed three hogsheads (189 gallons) "of good beer such as is meet for poor men." Thus we see that not only barley malt and oaten malt were used in brewing, but also wheaten and oaten meal, long after hops had come into general use. Venner, in his *Via Recta* thus discusses the question:—

"Whether Beer made of Barley malt be better and wholesomer than that which is made of Barley and Oaten malt in equall portions mixed together, or of two or three parts of Barley malt, with one of Oaten? To which, I answer, that whereas, the ende of the use of drinke is four-fold:—

1.—To quench the thirste;

2.—To temper the naturall heat;

3—To moisten the inward parts;

4.—To help the concoction and distribution of the meats;

That Beer made of Barley and Oaten malt mixed together doth more effectually accomplish the first three, without any manner of hindrance unto the fourth, and also is of a more lively

taste, if it be kept untouched till it hath got sufficient staleness. Whereuppon I may well affirme that Beer made of Barley and Oaten malt mingled together, is better than that which is made of Barley malt alone. A meetely large draught of stale beer, of an indifferent good strength, taken in the morning fasting, or a little before meales, with a little fine sugar in it, exhilarateth the heart, cleanseth the stomach and blood, and expelleth melancholy, and at such times, thus used profitteth more than wine."

Bishop Hall, however, in his *Satires*, speaks depreciatingly of Oaten beer :—

" What tho' he quaff pure amber in his bowl
Of March brewed wheat, yet slakes my thirsting soul
With palish oat, frothing in Boston clay."

W. Pinkerton.

LETTER FROM PROFESSOR ADOLPHE PICTET, OF GENEVA.

To the Editor of the Ulster Journal of Archæology.

Dear Sir,—It is with much satisfaction that I have learned from you the favourable reception given by scholars in Ireland to my *Origines Indo-Européennes*, and I am hence led to hope that some impulse may be given by this work to studies which promise to throw light on the primitive history of our race. Ireland, which may be henceforth considered as united with certainty to the great Indo-European family of nations, will no doubt contribute her quota to the task of reconstructing this history of our common ancestors,—a work beset with difficulties, and which can only be accomplished by many united efforts. The importance of the Celtic group of languages in assisting to attain this object in a complete manner cannot be estimated too highly; and, among these languages, the Irish unquestionably holds the first place, from the richness of its vocabulary and the antiquity of its written monuments. Unfortunately, however, one serious want is felt, which it would be important to supply as soon as possible. Ireland does not possess a single dictionary of her language such as the science of philology at present requires. It is on this subject, Sir, that I ask permission to make a few observations, with the view of drawing the attention of your countrymen to this great *desideratum* for the future progress of the science.

The Irish dictionary of O'Reilly, which is considered as the least defective of those published, is so, nevertheless, to a great extent. Although it may be an exaggeration to say, as one very good judge does say, that the half of the words which it contains are a "*mere sham*," it is, at all

events, certain that the author has drawn too inconsiderately from doubtful sources, and has admitted without proper examination a large number of imaginary terms and erroneous significations. If to this we add the mixing up of words of all epochs, almost always without indicating the authorities from which they are derived, it will be easily understood that such an instrument in the hands of a comparative philologist can only be a perpetual source of error and deception. I have myself experienced this most disagreeably in the composition of my *Origines*, which will consequently require many corrections in this department, as well as in several others. Already I find that many of my comparisons of Irish terms are stated to be imaginary, and are contested, apparently with reason, by competent judges. It is not possible, however, for the linguist who compares languages to take upon himself the task of proving the authenticity of every word in a particular language. His business commences where that of special philologists ends; and it is these last who must prepare for him the materials he is to work on. Now, Ireland, it must be confessed, is far in arrear in this respect; and she must take immediate steps to supply the deficiency, or see herself excluded for a long time to come from the field of study which is now beginning to fix the attention of the learned in Europe.

And what do you wait for? Is there any want of means? With such men as Curry, O'Donovan, Stokes, Siegfried, &c., you have all that is necessary for the work. The Royal Irish Academy is surely in a good position to give the impulse. I cannot believe that the question of money can be any obstacle: an appeal to Irish patriotism would surely provide the necessary funds. All further delays are injurious. The old relics of your language are disappearing, year after year, from accidents, carelessness, fire, or damp. How many irreparable losses have taken place during the last two or three centuries! Preserve at least what still remains, by condensing the substance of them in a *Thesaurus*, if the means are not forthcoming for publishing them in a complete form. Even if not for the sake of national self-love, you are called on to do so lest you should be anticipated by some foreigner. Zeuss, a German, has already snatched from the hands of your scholars the glory of having raised Celtic philology to the level of modern science. But Zeuss, as far as the ancient Gaelic is concerned, has only explored continental sources of information: and it will be for you to complete his work by the aid of those rich native stores which you still possess.

To work, then! the honour of Ireland is concerned. Take example by the Highland Society, which, with much fewer resources than you have, was able to publish a good lexicon of the Scottish Gaelic. And do you, Sir, urge in your excellent *Journal* the necessity which is everywhere felt for a reliable Irish dictionary. Commence an agitation in Ireland, which, for once, will not be political. If necessary, open a subscription list, and I feel assured it will before long be filled. Although a foreigner, I would myself gladly be the first to subscribe for such a purpose.

ADOLPHE PICTET.

Geneva, *January*, 1860.

ON THE GOLD ANTIQUITIES FOUND IN IRELAND.

To the Editor of the Ulster Journal of Archæology.

Sir,—In conformity with a suggestion of yours, that it might be useful to preserve a record of the opinions expressed by intelligent strangers, from various countries, who have visited the collection of Irish antiquities in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, respecting some of the remarkable specimens preserved there, I have looked over my notes of conversations, made at the time, and have thrown together the following summary, confining myself for the present to one class—the gold antiquities.

The origin of these antiquities is so obscure, and the opinions of archæologists, respecting them, are so conflicting, that any light which can be thrown upon the subject is of importance. For so far, the gold antiquities found in Ireland have been a complete puzzle to antiquaries. With very few exceptions, they are quite peculiar to this country; as no articles of the same kind have been discovered elsewhere, that I know of; or, if they have, no account has been published of them. Our native history, whether written or traditionary, affords us no clue to their original uses; and there seems, therefore, to be no mode of assisting our speculations, but that of ascertaining, as far as possible, whether any things of a similar kind be now in use in other parts of the world.

One class of antiquaries (all of whom are Irish,) hold that these gold antiquities, being discovered in Ireland, are necessarily of Celtic origin,[a] while others, in England, &c., are found who hold a very different opinion. For my own part, I do not profess to hold an opinion either way; and, if the tendency of the following recorded observations leads altogether towards the latter view of the question, I am not the less ready to admit the force of any arguments which may be brought forward in support of the other.

In the present state of the case, deprived as we are of all data, except the single undoubted

[a] *Celtic Origin.*—The term "Celtic" used in relation to antiquities, must, I think, be taken in connection with the statements made by Herodotus as to the European *locus* of the Celts in his time, as known to the Greeks. He places the Celts near the head-waters of the Danube, in the district now called Wurtemburg, where we ought now to look for Celtic antiquities. If gold antiquities, like those discovered in Ireland, are also found in Wurtemburg, it is evident that we must admit the Irish gold antiques to be Celtic; but if they are not, we are at liberty to speculate as to what people they belonged to, and as to the circumstances which placed them in Ireland. Ancient articles found in Wurtemburg may with propriety be called Celtic, in relation to place; and, in like manner, such objects found in certain parts of Spain may be called Celt-Iberian when they cannot be proved to be exotic productions, as our argument leads us to consider the gold antiquities found in Ireland.

GOLD ANTIQUITIES FOUND IN IRELAND
(full size)

fact, that certain articles made of gold, of peculiar forms, of unknown use, and of unquestionable antiquity, have been found under the soil in Ireland, not only singly, but sometimes in large quantities and during a period of many years—we may legitimately compare them with similar objects in use elsewhere; and we may to a certain extent, apply to both the old mathematical axiom that "things which are equal to the same are equal to one another." Tested by this principle, let the following observations be taken at what they are worth.

The simplest form exhibited by our gold antiques belongs to those usually called "bangles," and by some antiquaries, "ring-money," under the impression that they were used in lieu of money in very ancient times, not only here, but in Africa. This latter opinion is countenanced by the existence of certain Egyptain paintings in which pieces of gold, in forms not very unlike these rings or bangles, are represented as the tribute paid by a conquered African people, or as spoil taken from them by a victorious Egyptian monarch. It is argued by Keating that the progenitors of the Irish (who are asserted by the bardic chroniclers to have passed some time in Egypt) brought the custom thence of using gold torques. But this argument is fatal to the claim put forward for a *Celtic* origin of these antiquities. It points to the Jews, and to Africa as the gold country; and, when conjoined to the difficulty of accounting for the supply of the material in Ireland (which never was geologically a gold-producing country), would lead to the opinion that nearly all gold bangles came from Africa to this country.

Different visitors to the Museum have coincided in pronouncing some of the forms of the gold antiquities to be African, while denying this to be the case in others. They have denied also the correctness of certain statements, published both by Irish and English antiquarians, regarding the identity in form of the bangles now used in some parts of Africa as money; and particularly as to any modern African bangles being the same in shape as those open gold rings, commonly called Irish gold "ring-money," composed of a round bar of gold, bent nearly into a circle, and having more or less expansion at its two ends [see Plate I., figs. 1, 2, and 3]. It has been affirmed by African travellers that such things are not now manufactured in Africa; or that, if they are, they are unknown to the gold traders both on the eastern and western coasts.

The present African wrist-bangle is a plain ring having no expansion at the ends, like Figs. 1, and 2 in plate I.; while the greatest part of the Irish specimens, probably the *whole* of those which correspond in size with the wrist-bangle, have at least a *burr* or incipient expansion at the extremities, which in more elaborate specimens takes the form of a thimble or small cup [see Plate I., figs. 5, 6, 7, and 8]. It is a curious fact that at least twenty African travellers, and among them several traders from the west coast, who have visited the Museum, all told the same story as to the absence of any expansion on the modern gold African bangle. It is right to state, however, that some of them ventured to express the opinion that it must have existed formerly, because it is found on what are called the "manillas" or copper bangles now manufactured in England, in

imitation of African ones.[b] These are sent to Africa to be exchanged for commodities in the way of trade. It was also stated that the *silver* bangles, at present commonly worn as armlets in the north and east of Africa, have always an expansion at the ends: this part, indeed, is now ornamented in various ways, but may still indicate the ancient form; one use of which may have been to retain a number of smaller rings on the large one.

An Irish lady of rank (though of Spanish origin), who visited the Museum some years ago in company with the Rev. Dr. Russell of Maynooth College, claimed the gold rings of this class as ancient *wedding rings*, the same as were used formerly in Spain, and still occasionally even at the present day. She actually wore, at the time of her visit, a gold bangle on her left wrist, which she said was her wedding-ring. She further explained that her family had originally been Jewish, and that her belief was that the custom had been derived from the Jews of Seville. She suggested, with regard to the Irish rings resembling hers, that they might have come from Spain, and that they were originally Jewish ornaments, and not Irish. This lady mentioned that, among the Jews of Seville, it was the custom to bury women with their gold rings on their wrists, and even expressed the hope that, when she herself died, her wedding-ring would be buried with her. She has paid the debt of nature some time; but, though I have asked the question, I have not discovered whether her wish had been complied with. I suggested to this lady some doubts as to the possibility of the Jews of Seville, or any Jews, having been so innocent as to bury valuable articles of gold with the dead. She referred me to the statements in Josephus' History of the Jews concerning the vast treasure buried with King David; the opening, from time to time, of his tomb, and the abstraction of more or less of the hoards of gold accumulated therein. The usage of the old Spanish Jews, of burying articles of value with their dead, has been denied *in toto* by several Dublin Jews who have visited the Academy; but the statement of Lady B. has been since corroborated by the details published by Lindo of the violation of the Jewish cemetery at Seville.

While alluding to the desecration and plunder of the Jewish cemetery at Seville, and regarding it as a worked-out gold mine of ancient Jewish art, I cannot help expressing the hope that some of the proposed rail-ways in Spain may, during their construction, afford the opportunity of exploring some similar cemetery, and that proper means may be taken by the authorities to

[b] To prevent misconception, it should be mentioned that copper is believed not to be found west of the Nile, and consequently is not an African production. It is at present, and may at all periods have been considered by the native Africans as a precious material, and hence was used by them for personal ornaments. The most universally diffused African metal is iron, of a superior quality. Gold abounds in several localities, and the Africans are proficient in the manufacture of both these metals, and probably have been from the remotest period. Irish antiquities of iron have, in my opinion, the same African stamp of character about them as those of gold. The peculiar production, copper, found to the east of the Nile, may have led the Greeks to call the district the *Copper-land*, and the people *Copper-smiths*, *Copts*, and *Egyptians*—a name not recognized by the natives themselves. According to Herodotus, copper was the material specially used in Egypt for drinking-cups.

preserve or record their contents. Not only might the value of the objects found be of importance intrinsically, but they might afford the means of settling the disputed origin of the gold ornaments found in Ireland.

Everything that I have heard, so far, leads to the conclusion, that the so-called Irish "ring-money," of the simple "form," is made of African, and not native gold; and fashioned after an ancient type, which seems to have been common to all the gold employed in commerce formerly in Spain, Africa, Egypt, Syria, &c., probably until the introduction of Mahomedanism, when silver appears to have everywhere become (probably under Arab or Moorish influences) the standard currency in all those countries, and even in Ireland.

The second type of Irish gold bangle [see Plate I., figs. 5,6, 7, and 14], has its ends expanded into cups or concave disks. It is stated, by several visitors to the Museum, to have been seen by them worn as an ornament on the ankles of women in Africa residing in the vicinity of the great gold districts. Specimens as large as the one generally known as the "Castle Kelly fibula," and closely resembling it, have been met with in actual use, leading to the inference that this was the purpose for which these articles were originally intended, whether it was a fashion originating in the gold-producing country or copied from some other.

This last supposition may, perhaps, be the nearest to the truth; for although travellers in Africa state distinctly that such things exist at present on that continent, yet several European travellers, also visitors to the Museum, have claimed these as of European or Asiatic origin. Thus, a very intelligent lady, who had travelled in Hungary, mentioned to me that she had seen in that country, in the possession of different individuals, articles made of *iron*, exactly of the same shape as our Irish gold bangles with expanded ends. She explained that these iron articles were equivalents of gold ones of the same size, formerly possessed by the ancestors of these persons, and which, for some reason, they had exchanged with the Hungarian Government; and she referred me to a work on Hungary in which I might find the whole history of the transaction, and also see an engraving of an object of this kind. I made some inquiry for the book at the time, but not finding it in any of the libraries to which I had access, and being afterwards occupied with other matters, the whole thing passed away from my memory. To the best of my recollection, the book referred to was in English; and, as the works in our language describing Hungary are not numerous, some of your readers may be at once able to give a reference to it.

Two other persons who have visited the Museum have mentioned facts which tend to localize this particular form of gold bangle in the eastern and southern parts of Europe. One of these was a Greek priest, from Constantinople. The moment he saw the large "Castle Kelly fibula," or bangle with cupped ends, he asked what it was? giving as a reason for his inquiry that there existed in the treasury of the Church at Constantinople, to which he was attached, a similar article of gold; and that he and others supposed it was an ancient *cymbal*, though this was merely a

surmise. He stated his entire ignorance of its history; but, from seeing so many things of the kind in our museum, he thought we might have been able to give him some information as to their use, &c.

The other gentleman was an artist who had been employed in executing some of the paintings in the new Houses of Parliament. He expressed his surprise at seeing the "Castle Kelly fibula," and explained that, during a recent visit to Poland, he had noticed an ornament of a very similar kind worn by a Jewess in full dress. It was slung in the knot of a scarf, which passed loosely round her waist, and was tied in front, where the weight of the massive gold ornament kept the scarf-knot in her lap. Being very desirous of recovering traces of the ancient Jewish costume, he made some inquiry regarding this style of ornament, and learned that the usage was one of the old national customs of the Jewish nation, and not by any means uncommon among Polish Jews. This testimony, therefore, again leads us to a Jewish origin for our Irish gold bangles, while the mode of wearing this ornament may coincide with that attributed by Herodotus to the Scythians, who, he explains, wore gold cups in their belts to swear upon.

Several visitors have remarked the similarity of the general form of these cupped bangles to that of a particular ornament represented on images of the most ancient female deities of India; whose girdles, worn slack round the hips, are kept in their places by gold articles or locks of some kind fixed in the knot in front, very much after the fashion of the Polish Jewess. May not the old myth of Danae's shower of gold have been, in its original form, a Greek joke on the adoption of the ancient Argive women of this Asiatic or Jewish usage? A shower of gold money is an antiquarian blunder, for there was no money in that age at all! But gold locks in the girdles of unmarried women may have been quite common. They may have been the lady's fortune, or dower.

A third variety of the Irish gold bangle, has the ends tipped with a hollow cone or thimble, the connecting bar being in all cases hollow, except at the necks [Fig. 8]. I have no recollection of any special remarks being made on these by visitors, farther than the surmise of ladies, who generally coincide in the opinion that they were more likely to be anklets than bracelets. No. 7 has a tendency to this type, for its cups are deeper than usual, and the arch is hollow. Its ornaments are like those on No. 8. They might have belonged to the same dress, and were evidently made in the same manufactory, and possibly by the same hands.

There are in the Museum several bangles made simply of round gold wire, without any expansion at the ends; and one made of such wire but perforated with small holes, and likewise without expansion [Fig 10]: there are, also, several flatted bar bangles [Fig. 16], quite plain and devoid of ornamentation. All these have been claimed by travellers as specimens of common *modern* African ornaments worn by the Negro people in the Gold Country; though there can be no doubt of their having been discovered buried in the ground in two different places of Ireland. This may indicate a connection between Ireland and Africa in the time of the Moorish occupation of Spain, or even later.

We find, also, in the Museum, several small gold rings, made in two kinds of twisted patterns, both of which, according to the statements of several visitors, are now quite common on the Gold Coast; and one gentleman brought to the Museum several specimens of African gold rings, which were identical in pattern with one of these varieties, and explained the usages connected with rings of this kind in Africa. This seems to prove to demonstration, that the rings of this description now in the Museum, and which were discovered near Cork, are of African origin.

Besides the gold rings already described, which might fit the wrist, arm, and ankle, there was lately added to the collection of the Royal Irish Academy a number of gold articles, discovered along with a very large number of others in the County Clare. One of these is a heavy gold ring, having another smaller ring playing on it. Now, several recent visitors have assured me that this description of ring is a common form of anklet in Africa and India. Among these visitors was the Ameer of Scinde, who, some time since, came to England, in the hope of obtaining from government a grant of certain rights which he claimed over a territory in India. This personage appeared to take special interest in this and other gold articles found in the County Clare, which, he said, were quite similar to those now used in Scinde; and particularly the hollow gold "lunettes," or crescent-shaped ornaments, having button-shaped ends, and usually termed gold collars, resembling, in form, the gorgets worn by our military officers fifty years ago. These rare objects were considered by our Indian visitor as not being Irish at all, but importations from his own country. I ventured to question the correctness of his opinion; but at the same time assured him that, if he would only send to our Museum a present of a single gold ornament of this kind, from the neck of one of his eunuchs or chamberlains, he would go far towards convincing our learned antiquaries that our Irish collars, &c., were of Asiatic origin. I may here add, that the native attendants of the Ameer corroborated every thing he said on the subject, whether they were, or were not within his hearing; so that his opinion assumes additional importance. It is not improbable, however, that the customs of Scinde, such as the one here referred to, may have been introduced by Arabs, or other Mahomedan races, and that hence they may have had their origin in Africa. The Asiatic use of gold rings on the arms, legs, or neck, may perhaps be considered as indicating an African immigration, or the introduction of African usages into the East.[c]

We want information as to the use of gold lunette ornaments in the turbans of the old Mahomedans, and the origin of the Crescent as their national emblem. Are the *flat* gold lunettes [Fig. 23],

[c] It has been stated by several visitors that the usage still exists of the Sultan placing a silver bangle on the wrist of a Pacha at the time of his investiture in office; and that it is theoretically believed to contain fire and evil in one end of it, and water and mercy in the other; but that, in consequence of its form, the two ends can never meet! This usage though now said to be confined to silver things, may have applied originally to gold. We know that a usage prevailed anciently in Ireland of presenting gold rings, from the greater chieftains to the heads of minor tribes. This custom may be Jewish or African, as it corresponds with the description given in *Genesis*, where Pharaoh is said to have taken the ring off his hand or wrist, and put it on Joseph as the investiture of his office.

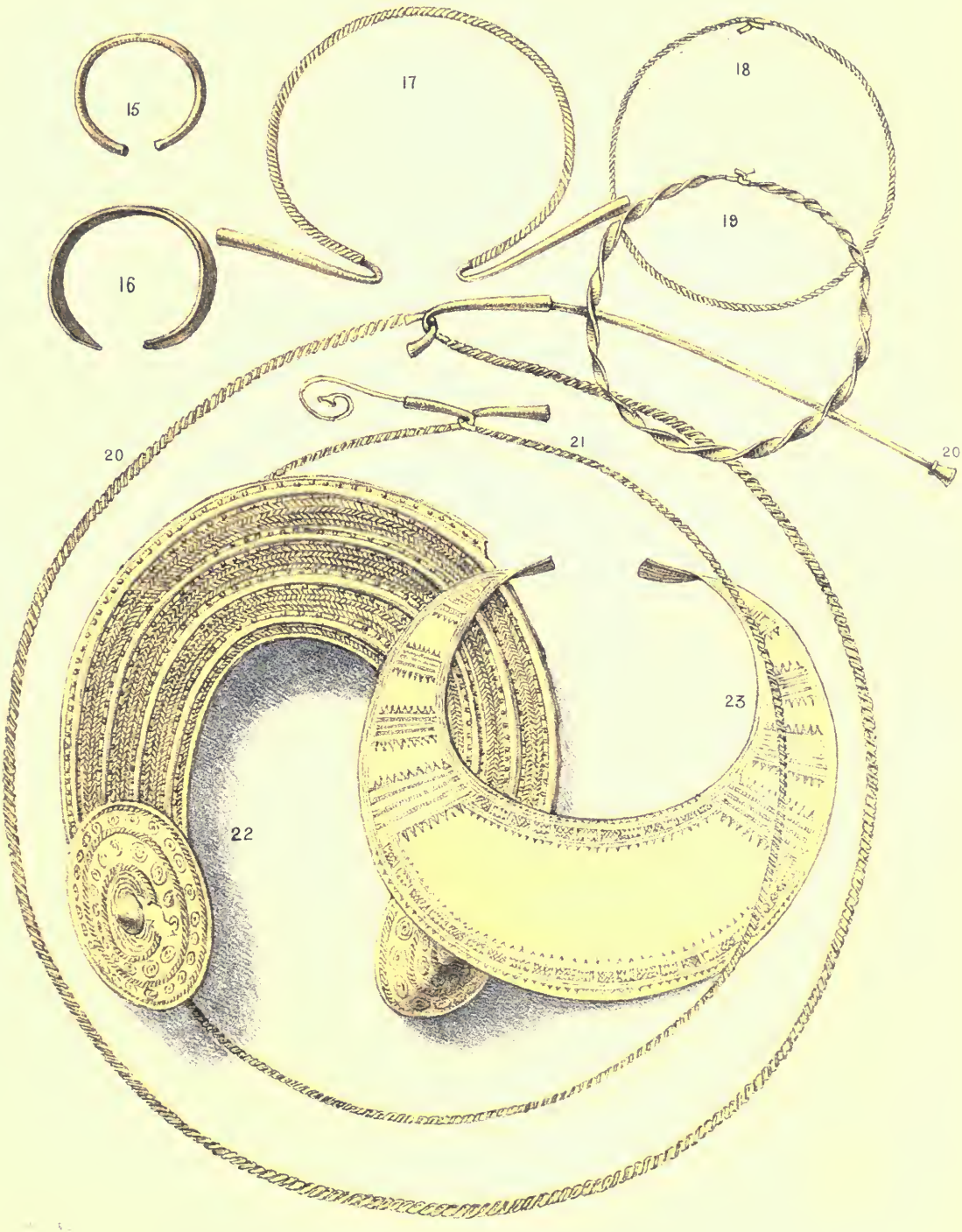
in our Museum spoils taken by our Crusaders from the Turks? and, if they are, why do we not find them elsewhere than in Ireland? Or are they emblems of Astarte, and antagonisms to the gold disks ornamented with the figure of the Cross?

Besides the gold articles comprehended in the "find" of the County Clare, which are large enough to fit the neck of an adult man or woman, there are several others [Fig. 17, 18, 19,] which are of the same dimensions, though different in construction. One of these is formed of a twisted bar of gold, having the ends hooked, and has been for several years in the collection [Fig. 17]. When this ornament (which is of the kind usually called a "neck-torque,") was first exhibited, a most intelligent lady, sister of a member of the Academy, remarked at once that it must be African, because it closely resembled a torque represented on the neck of a negro in an ancient Venetian painting belonging to her brother. And another lady from Scotland, who visited our Museum, the moment she saw this torque, remarked to her husband, who was with her, that the object generally supposed to be a piece of rope on the neck of the ancient statue known as the "Dying Gladiator," was really a torque of this kind: an opinion now, I believe, generally adopted, although not critically correct—for the Gladiator's torque has only a general resemblance to the one in our Museum. There is, however, an actual gold torque of small size on an ancient statue of Mercury, now in the British Museum, which approaches more nearly in form to the Irish torque. Might not its use in this case imply that, at the time when this statue was so ornamented, gold neck torques were a usual personal ornament of merchants, Mercury being the deity who presided over Commerce? or may it not have been emblematic of the trade carried on with Spain or Africa in manufactured gold?[d]

The fineness and purity of gold is still tested in Africa by the amount of twisting it will bear before it breaks. This natural substitute for the "Hall-mark" of our modern goldsmiths, to indicate pure gold, has been noticed by several visitors to the Museum as a purely African characteristic of articles made of gold.

Besides the twisted neck-torque, we have in the Museum collection several other articles of gold not twisted, [Fig. 15] which, from their size, may be considered as likewise ornaments for the neck. These are stated to be almost identical with those now worn in different parts of Africa, chiefly by women, who, it is said, are generally the traders in the Gold Country.

[d] The term "wreathen," applied frequently in the Old Testament to Jewish articles made of gold, manifestly refers to gold beautified by workmanship. It implies "twisted," "spun," &c., and is applicable to many of our Irish specimens. As mere works exhibiting the skill of the gold-smith, the torques of the Tara type, made of four fillets of "wreathen" gold, are a master-piece of the craft. Fig. 11 (Plate 1) is the perfection of gold work of another kind. Here the gold is beaten out, then twisted into thread, and put together into filagree. Fig. 12 is a wonderful imitation of filagree, produced by pouring the melted gold into a mould, containing an impression taken from real filagree. The diadem (Fig. 22) is to a great extent an imitation of "wreathen" or twined work produced by "stamping," a method indicated in the Old Testament as implying a very high order of gold work and ornamentation.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There is some reason to believe that twisted bars of gold, with hooked ends, were used in a perfectly straight form, and for altogether a different purpose from that attributed to our circular torque. The Syrian dragoman or interpreter to our Consul at Beyrout, when visiting the Academy's Museum some years ago, was requested to point out any articles which resembled such as were used in Syria. He examined the specimens carefully, and stated that the only ones he recognized were the torques. These, he said, were to be seen in churches in that country, but were perfectly straight, and not bent, being used as links to form chains for suspending the lamps from the roof. He said that at present these twisted links were always of silver, though he believed that they were made of gold in former times when the Christian churches were richer in Syria. They are baptismal gifts made to the churches; and in form resemble the girdle which the Jewish bridegroom is said to have presented to the bride.

In the collection of Irish antiquities lately deposited for exhibition in the Royal Irish Academy, by the Royal Dublin Society, there is a very well made model in brass of a silver torque made of two wires. Although this is now bent into the form of a hoop, there is no doubt that, some years ago, either this model itself or a duplicate of it in Trinity College Museum, was exhibited, extended at full length, thus corresponding both in form and material with the silver twisted links described as used in the Syrian churches. Is it not possible that the original from which the model was copied may have actually been used for suspending a lamp in an ancient Irish Greek[e] church? It should be added, that in size this silver torque was smaller than either of the Tara gold torques, but larger than the gold hoop, made of a square bar, which I have ventured to call a girdle. Hence the question arises, were such articles used as girdles in the Middle Ages? An answer in the affirmative has been given by a visitor who has paid great attention to all matters relating to the later Jewish customs. This gentleman has assured me that the Jews in different countries, at their marriages, employ torques as bridal fillets, bandages, or girdles round the loins or hips; and that, although anciently all bridal girdles were of gold, yet latterly the girdle presented by the bridegroom to the bride was of silver, while the one given to him by the bride was of gold. According to Rabbinical notions, the difference in the colours, white and yellow, indicated certain distinctions of a peculiar kind. It is right to mention that several Jews to whom I have spoken on this subject, deny the correctness of these assertions, and seem grossly ignorant of all ancient usages connected with gold or silver ornaments among their people.

e The Greek character of many of the old ecclesiastical articles in the Academy's Museum, and the style of architecture observable in the ancient Irish (or so-called Scottish) churches, both in Ireland and on the Continent, connect the early Christianity of Ireland with the East. This is what would be expected if a previous Jewish connexion had existed. Saint Patrick was by birth a Jew; and as such, his sympathies with Ireland may have sprung from a reminiscence of some material benefit rendered by that country to his nation in their time of trouble. The story told by Keating, to account for the good feeling which anciently subsisted between the Irish Jews, and *vice versa*, is absurd.

In favour of the idea that the original and normal form of the gold torques, such as those found at Tara, was a hoop, we have, however, the evidence of several native Africans. Two of these were the Ashantee princes who paid a visit to Dublin some years since. At the request of several members of the Academy, and of a lady who has contributed to its Transactions a valuable paper, these accomplished savages were brought to see the Museum, chiefly in order to test the correctness of a statement made by the captain of an African ship, that gold articles very similar to the Tara torques were occasionally sold on the Gold Coast. Accordingly, it was arranged that these torques should be placed on a table in the library before the princes arrived, but that nothing should be said or done to attract their attention to them. Yet, the moment they entered the room, their eyes caught the torques; they at once took them up and put them on like belts, over one shoulder and under the other. They then walked up and down the room, seeming quite gratified with their ornament. Being asked why these things pleased them so much, they at once replied, that they reminded them of the return of their warriors from successful expeditions into the interior of the country, where the people used such ornaments. They mentioned one purpose to which the warriors applied these articles —namely, to string upon them various other trophies which they had plundered. These they exhibited ostentatiously for some time after their return; and then the torques were chopped up and sold in pieces to the European traders. It thus appeared that the African captain's story was to a certain extent correct.

On a subsequent occasion a French gentleman, introduced by a dignitary of the Roman Catholic Church, paid a visit to the Museum, for the purpose of disposing of some exquisite specimens of ancient necklaces taken from the Venetian Museum. There were, indeed, a few such glass beads in the collection ornamented somewhat in the same style of art as his, but infinitely inferior in taste and execution; so that an inspection of our glass department gave him little satisfaction. Finding that he had heard nothing of our gold antiquities, I asked him to remain for a few moments, and that I would open the safe in which they were kept and let him see them. He agreed to do so, and mentioned at the same time that, not long previously, he had had an excellent opportunity, not only of seeing some very curious gold things in the interior of Africa, but of learning their uses; so that, although he had failed in the object of his visit to the Academy's Museum, he might have it in his power to give some information regarding the gold specimens; since, as I had told him, these gold antiquities had, in several instances, been claimed as African, though found buried in the ground in Ireland. The safe being opened, the moment the Frenchman saw the collection he at once declared that the whole of the gold specimens (with two or three exceptions) were African; adding, with much vivacity, "You can't tell what that thing is for—and that—and that; but I can, for I have seen them all in use; and I now regret that I did not bring a specimen of each to Europe. But how did you get them? It is surely not possible that these were found in Ireland!" It was with some difficulty that I was able to convince him that they had been found buried in

the ground in this country. He then informed me that he had succeeded in making his way into the mountain district of Kong or Bafra, which lies north of the Gold Coast, in which gold is very abundant, and that there he had found a colony of Jews who professed to have ancient records proving that they had quitted Spain on the irruption of the Goths into that country, and who had remained free from the corruptions which afterwards crept into the customs and usages of the Jews in Spain and Northern Africa. They asserted themselves to be uncorrupted *Sephardim* or Scribes (?) and were so entirely at variance with the Spanish and Barbary Jews on account of their backsliding from the old Jewish orthodoxy, that they would not eat, drink, or hold any intercourse with them. It was among this people that the French traveller mentioned having seen the counterparts of so many of our gold antiquities, and learned their uses. He had met with articles quite similar to our Tara torques, and stated that they were worn at the weddings of the Jews, as girdles round the hips, by the newly-married couple, and that the bride had an absolute right to the torque presented to her by her husband. Any further gifts which she received from her friends were likewise her own property, and were slung on the torque. These were often extremely valuable, and sometimes so ponderous that cases have been known of fortunate brides being thus loaded with presents to such an extent that they could not rise from the ground. At the wedding the bride also wore a golden frontlet, exactly resembling the articles found in Ireland, and called by Vallancey "Brehons' Collars," of which there are three specimens, nearly perfect, in the Academy's museum [Fig. 22].

This traveller likewise recognised in our crescent-shaped gold plates [Fig. 23] a Jewish ornament for unmarried women; and, finally, described the females in this part of Africa as using gold ornaments in every possible way, in the form of necklaces, armlets, bracelets, anklets, &c., realising the picture of the women of Jerusalem drawn by the prophet Isaiah.

It may be a question worth considering, whether the forms of gold ornaments used by these secluded African Jews are all of Jewish origin, or whether some of them may not be African. The flat lunette, or crescent-shaped frontlet [Fig. 23], and the diadem [Fig. 22], seem to be Asiatic ornaments; but the gold rings or bangles appear to be purely African, and intended more for the ostentatious display of wealth than for ornament. The former class of ornaments were certainly employed to add dignity and grace to the human head and face, an object not aimed at by a naked race like the negroes, who may be said to be "all face;" whereas, the Jewish women, in every age, and in every country, have been elaborately clothed, and have adopted a class of ornaments to correspond.

A Greek lady, who inspected the Museum, on being shown the gold frontlets (the "Brehon's collars" of Vallancey) [Fig. 22], claimed them at once as the prototypes of the frontlets worn by brides at weddings in the island of Corfu. These are at present made there of gilt *paper;* but, no doubt, represent the more costly material of former times, and may have been borrowed by the

Greek Church from the Christianized Jews. Anciently, the frontlet or diadem was worn by both the bride and bridegroom, according to the usage of the Greek Church, as it was worn among the Jews, though now, I believe, confined to the bride. It seems clear that the Christians borrowed the custom from the Jews: whether these again borrowed it from some pagan nation is another question. Rebecca's frontlet was probably not Shemitic. Basnage is unquestionably wrong in not deriving the Greek Christian usage of wearing gold crowns at weddings from the Jewish Church.

The diadem, or head ornament, represented as worn by some of the martyrs in the catacombs of Rome, closely resembles the frontlet just mentioned. We may also recognize the same form of ornament in the head-dress for married women in Russia; while the lunette, or crescent-ornament, is likewise found in that country as the ornament of the unmarried one.

It seems natural to suppose that these customs came to Russia along with Greek Christianity, from the Holy Land: as the Greek Church adopted or retained many Jewish usages as allowable, simply because they were not specifically forbidden by the New Law.

A Russian gentleman, lately visiting the Museum (who appeared by his card to be a chamberlain to the Emperor), on being asked if such articles as the diadems and lunette-ornaments were to be seen in Russia, replied, "Yes, certainly, they are Russian national head-ornaments, used by all classes, from the Empress and the royal princesses down to the poorest peasant." To prove his words true, he promised to send to the Museum specimens in brass of things of this kind, worn by

the humbler classes. Unfortunately for the further elucidation of our subject, I am not able yet to report the arrival of this donation.

Another fact tending to the same conclusion, as to the analogy of these ornaments with old Jewish ones, was lately communicated by a lady, the sister of an Irish member of Parliament distinguished in the scientific world, and herself a person eminently calculated to make correct observations. This lady stated to me that she had lately seen a Spanish lady-in-waiting to the Queen of Spain, actually wearing a golden head-ornament, precisely the same in form as the so-called "Brehon's Collars" of our museum [Fig. 22]. Here, then, we find this peculiar ornament in Spain, the very country from whence the Sephardim Jews of Africa alleged that they had emigrated in the fourth century. The invasion of the Goths at that time may possibly have driven the Jewish inhabitants into various other countries, and perhaps even to Ireland; though, if such be the case, it is likely that they did not remain here permanently, but returned to Spain at a subsequent period. Hence it may be conjectured that at least a portion of our ancient specimens of gold ornaments may owe their presence here to a temporary exodus of the Spanish Jews to this country in the fourth century. A larger portion may afford evidence of a still earlier temporary exodus of Jews, from various parts of the Roman Empire, in the first century, about the time of the final fall of Jerusalem, and the extinction of the temple. Not long after, however, a milder policy of the Emperors permitted the Jews to obtain once more a footing throughout the Roman provinces and cities, with the privilege of trading and holding land. This was especially the case in Spain, where Jewish fashions and fancies, in art and literature, seem to have rapidly revived, and from whence they spread themselves far and wide through Christendom, threatening, in Spain, the absorption of Christianity itself. It would appear, in fact, that, in those times the Jewish goldsmiths and silversmiths led the fashion in ornamental art, as the French do at present, and that to them may be traced the origin of many forms of personal decorations, as well as ecclesiastical ornaments, found in different countries. I do not mean to say that it was in the fourth century the ancient Irish and British women adopted the fashion of wearing gold ornaments on the head; for it is recorded that Maud, Queen of Connaught, in Ireland, and Queen Boadicea, in Britain, wore golden diadems at a much earlier period; but it is quite possible that even these were made in Spain or Africa, and imported into the British Islands, just as thousands of other personal ornaments or articles of *Jewellery*[f] were introduced by traders from Spain into Ireland.[g]

[f] *Jewellery, Jewel.*—These words, expressive of ornamental work for the person, made of precious metals, are usually derived from the Latin *jocale*. The French is *joyau*; Spanish, *joycl*; German, *juwel*. But may they not all be derived from the name *Jew*?

[g] Lindo, in enumerating the trades lost to Spain by the final expulsion of the Jews, specifies "Arabian jewellery," as if this had, in later times, been preferred to native Jewish workmanship. This may have been the case; but it is not the less probable that the Arabs or Moors themselves had learned the art from the Spanish Jews. The agency of this people in the revival of literature, commerce, and art, has been overlooked, or unfairly passed over by the Christian historians of the Middle Ages.

A fact stated by another visitor to our Museum may be appropriately mentioned here. This person was a lady who had resided for some time in Amsterdam, and who had had an opportunity of examining many gold head-ornaments, worn especially by old-fashioned people. One form of ornament, this lady stated, was identical with the gold diadems or frontlets which have been so often alluded to; and she confirmed the truth of her statement by presenting to the museum an old engraving purchased by her in Amsterdam, in which two women are represented, one holding the gold head-ornament in her hand, the other wearing it on her head. And, so far as can be determined from the inspection of a small picture, there is certainly an apparent identity between our Irish specimens and these Dutch head-dresses.

We know that Amsterdam was one of the places where the Jews early became a rich community; and it is extremely probable that Jewish emigrants from Spain to Holland may have introduced this style of gold ornament there.

In Switzerland, Poland, and Hungary, we can trace the use of gold head-gear for women, always made of thin gold plate; and it was in these countries in particular that the Jews found a refuge from persecution in the early part of the Middle Ages, and where they were longest permitted to use their peculiar national costume, which, according to all tradition, was extremely rich in gold and embroidery-work.[h]

[h] The head-ornaments of these countries are all made of thin gold plate, and indicate a time when gems were not introduced as additional decorations. Precious stones were originally set in silver. At a later period, the silver was gilt; and finally, gold substituted for silver. But gold alone was the more ancient material, as we find by the remains of Egyptian and Etrurian antiquities.

The Jews, in the most ancient times of which we have record, were always the great dealers in gold and silver, if we may judge by the writings of Isaiah and by numerous other passages in the Old Testament. They were so before the foundation of Carthage, a city which, beyond doubt, was as much an Israelite or Samarian, as a Phœnician or Tyrian, colony. And, after the fall of Carthage, we find these Jews, as a distinct nationality (or Carthaginians assuming the old name), quietly monopolizing the entire trade in those metals in Spain, Africa, and Britain, and carrying on a great commerce everywhere, with the connivance or under the protection of the Romans themselves, who seem to have despised trade. It is by no means improbable, too, that their great wealth may have been sometimes employed in furnishing the "sinews of war" to Roman generals (even to Julius Cæsar, Pompey, &c.), and in assisting one or other of the opposing parties during the decline of the Empire. Jerusalem must have been looked on by the Romans as a treasure-house; and its siege seems to have been in reality undertaken for the sake of the plunder, which may have been only saved to be lost again in Ireland!

Then came the expulsion of the Jews from all parts of the Empire[i] to places beyond the limits of the Roman power, such as Ireland and parts of Africa. Both these countries were previously known to the Jews as markets; Ireland being probably one of their great marts for exporting slaves[k] to the mines of Spain and Cornwall; and Africa being the country from which they procured their gold. The supplies of gold obtained by chieftains in Ireland may in fact have arisen from this very slave trade; and at this time may have commenced the fashion, among men of rank, of wearing gold neck-torques and rings in Ireland.

If these speculations be good for anything, in the absence of antagonistic facts and arguments, there really seems to be some reason for supposing that a great portion of our Irish gold antiquities are of ancient Jewish manufacture, and of African gold. With regard to the plain gold rings, it may be maintained, on the evidence furnished by the Old Testament, that the ancient currency of the Jews consisted of rings or bent bars of silver and gold, which were estimated by weight, and not at a conventional value, such as that given by a stamp.[l] According to the argument here developed, the gold bangles brought to Ireland were estimated rather by weight as bullion

[i] From the circumstances of the times, it follows, as a matter of course, that on war being declared by the Roman State against the Jews, all of that people within the limits of the empire had to fly or deliver themselves up as prisoners. In their flight they would, no doubt, carry with them their gold. So late as A.D. 612, the currency of the Jews in Spain was gold in ounces, not coined money: for in the 24th canon of the Council of Toledo, it is enacted that no Jews shall sing psalms at funerals, under a penalty of six ounces of gold.

[k] By the same canon of the council of Toledo (quoted in the preceding note), Spanish Jews are prohibited from purchasing Christian slaves. At all times the Jews were slave merchants. There was nothing uncommon in Joseph's brethren selling him as a slave. The impropriety (according to the custom of the day) consisted in selling a man who was the property of another person, who happened in this instance to be their father.

[l] The Jewish *shekel* is comparatively modern as a circulating medium.

than for their use as ornaments. Those who have adopted the opinion that these articles are "ring-money" seem to be not far from the truth, if they understand by money a medium of exchange employed by merchants in trade. But, if our theory be correct, these merchants were foreigners, most probably Jews;[m] and, though the rings may have been employed by the native Irish as a currency, they can no more be claimed as Irish money than European coins can be called money by the Chinese, who employ silver in trade by weight only.

A very large specimen of that kind of ornament which we usually designate a "collar" was obtained by the Royal Irish Academy, along with the collection of antiquities which belonged to the late Major Sirr. It is believed to have been found at Kildare. Now, if we bear in mind that similar ornaments, according to several of our informants, form the insignia of a bride in Greece; and, if we add to this a statement made both by the Greek lady (formerly mentioned) and her English husband, namely, that one of these ornaments is to be seen forming a *nimbus* or glory on the head of an image of the Virgin in Corfu; it is not an extravagant idea to suppose that this very diadem may have adorned the head of the famous image of Saint Bride or Bridget at the Sanctuary of Kildare. If this could be proved, it would add to the evidence, which seems to be accumulating, of a great infusion of the Greek (and probably of the Ebionite or Jewish) form of Christianity into Ireland at a very early period. The suppression of these, and the substitution for them of the Roman form of Christianity, seem to have been the real object of St. Patrick's mission to Ireland.

To the evidence of the various visitors already quoted I might add the concurrent testimony of at least seven or eight other intelligent travellers from Spain, who have at once asserted that nearly all our gold and silver antiquities are Spanish. Spanish priests and laymen, French and English travellers, both in Spain and in South America (where much old Spanish jewellery still exists), have all given the same opinion.

The question is an open one, as to which articles found in Ireland are Jewish, which Carthaginian, Moorish, or Christian? If these questions were decided, antiquarians would have but little trouble in determining what objects we have remaining in our museums of genuine Celtic antiquity, whether British, Scottish, or Irish.

I cannot conclude without mentioning to your archæological readers a fact just stated to me by a visitor from Spain, that the silver-smiths of Valladolid, at the present day, are in the constant habit of buying up old jewellery for the purpose of re-melting it and converting it into modern ornaments. A gentleman from Portugal also mentioned to me, only a few days ago, that the same practice exists, to a considerable extent, in Oporto. Now, if means were taken, it is probable that a very valuable illustrative collection of antiquities could be brought together from these places which

[m] If the general argument be admitted, of the great commercial importance of the Spanish Jews before and after the fall of Carthage, and subsequently during the Roman dominion, extending even to England, I see no reason why the trade of the Irish ports may not have been in their hands. Though the Jews were not sailors, they could, as capitalists, employ merchant vessels for their trade.

might materially assist in deciding several of our obscure questions. In Lindo's work on the Jews in Spain (already quoted), we have a pathetic notice (p. 283) of the desecration and pillage of the Jewish cemetery of Seville, in the year 1580, when the coffins were despoiled "of everything of value." This may serve as a hint to some of our enthusiastic Irish antiquarians, who might not feel indisposed to violate another Jewish cemetery, if such could be found. And, in the same page, it is stated that the old cemetery of the Jews at Vittoria "is yet preserved;" so that here is an opportunity afforded of founding a genuine museum of Jewish antiquities, and of filling up the astounding blank indicated by the following passage in Ferguson's *Palaces of Nineveh Restored* (p. 9):—"It is one of the peculiarities of the Jewish history, and certainly not one of the least singular, that all we know of them is derived from their own written books. Not one monument, not one sculptured stone, not one letter of an inscription, not even a potsherd remains to witness, by a material fact, the existence of the Jewish kingdom. No museum ever possessed a Jewish antiquity; while Egypt, Assyria, Greece, and all the surrounding countries, teem with material evidences of former greatness, and of the people who once inhabited them." Has our argument made this statement somewhat doubtful?

In the present paper I have brought together fairly the statements made by a great variety of intelligent witnesses quite unconnected with each other, and I now lay the result before those who are capable of judging. I have, of course, suppressed names, as the remarks were not intended to be made public. My object has not been to establish a theory; but the remarkable convergence in the statements of so many persons towards the same point cannot fail to have some weight in an obscure question such as the one before us. If the evidence can be met by arguments and facts of equal value, I am content. If not, the tendency of what has been now advanced is towards a solution of the question which is entirely opposed to the popular opinion.

Edward Clibborn,
Curator of the Royal Irish Academy.

Dublin, *January*, 1860.

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATES.

Plate I.

Fig.

1. Plain gold bangle, or wrist-ornament, with the ends slightly expanded, and terminating in a flat surface.
2. Do. somewhat smaller, terminations slightly convex.
3. Do. smaller than Fig. 2, ends slightly concave.
4. Bar of gold, with ends slightly expanded; thickest in the middle, and slightly tapering towards the ends. It is evidently in an unfinished state and appears intended to form a bangle.

5. Gold bangle, with the ends expanded into cups. There is no ornamentation except two lines round the edges of the cups outside.

6. Do. The connecting bar is here so much bent that the cups touch each other at their lower edges. If this has been a wrist-ornament, its form and size are exceptional. For such a use the cups would require to be bent outwards, so far that their edges should be on the same plane, like those of Fig. 5. The space inclosed would then be about the same as in Fig. 9.

7. Do. In this specimen the cups are ornamented with three grooves round the inside, and two round the outside. Below these, in the interior, a toothed or serrated ornament is carried all round, composed of acute triangles filled in with fine lines parallel to one of the sides. The same ornament, but coarser, appears on the ends of Fig. 13. The distance between the inner edges of the two cups is not sufficient to admit the wrist of either a man or woman. On the exterior the cups are covered with an ornament composed of rows of concentric ovals. These are not regularly distributed, as in some places they overlap each other, as if the stamp which produced the ornament had been placed carelessly by the operator. (This same ornament is found on the tops and bottoms of two cylindrical gold boxes in the Academy's Museum, but indistinctly developed. An ornament very similar is also observed on some of the golden head-ornaments.) The place where the cup joins the handle or connecting bar, is ornamented with a zig-zag or serrated pattern with very acute angles, similar to that in the interior of the cup, but formed by two outlines which are filled in with parallel lines. We observe the same pattern on the outside of the cup in Fig. 8. The ornaments on the neck of the bent bar, or point of junction with the cup, are nearly identical in Figs. 7 and 8, being representations of fine wire cord, and differing merely in the number and arrangement of the plain and twisted bands. This peculiar ornament may indicate a usage of attaching cups of this kind to their connecting arches, by means of gold cord, which is the method employed for fastening the circular ear-pieces to the large gold frontlets. The ornamentation of these last seems, in some respect, to connect them with these decorated cupped bangles, and to prove that they had been used together, probably as personal ornaments at weddings, or on other special occasions.

8. Do. Like No. 7, and all the specimens of the same class, it has the connecting arch hollow, but the passage is not complete from one cup to the other. Several practical goldsmiths have remarked that the perfect manner of stopping the openings at the bottom of the cups, after removing the cores of *scarlet* sand from the interior of the hollow arch, is a proof of the admirable skill of the manufacturer, and would be a difficult matter at the present day.

9 A wrist-ornament like Fig. 2, but bent in a peculiar manner like the ends of a torque. This and Fig. 6, from their small size, may possibly have been intended for a young person, and may have been used at the old Jewish ceremony of betrothal, which took place when the girl was only nine years old.

10. An ornament, very nearly circular, covered with dots drilled or punched into the gold. It can hardly have been used for the same purpose as any of the preceding specimens, for their curves are not perfect portions of a circle, and it is likewise nearly closed. Its ideal form is evidently a perfect circle. In this respect it corresponds with many modern African bangles, and indeed has been claimed as African by various visitors to the Museum. There are several similar gold rings in the collection, but perfectly plain, and which have likewise been considered as African. Rings of either kind, however, are seldom fonnd in Ireland, whereas the types 1, 2, 3, 5, and 6, are very common; and 7 and 8, though rare, when found are generally accompanied by specimens of 1, 2, 3, 5, and 6.
11. A curious little gold case made of beautiful twisted wire filagree, of exquisite workmanship. It was purchased from a man who said he had found it, when screening gravel taken out of the bed of the river Dodder, near Rathfarnham, County Dublin.
12. Another case made in imitation of filagree-work, by running the melted gold into a clay mould into which a real piece of filagree had been previously impressed. By this cheap and rapid process an imitation has been obtained so exact that the naked eye can hardly distinguish the difference. Capsules of this kind are said to be used in Africa for holding bloody cotton, possibly the evidence of circumcision or marriage; being the equivalent of the marriage-fillet of the ancient Etruscans, and of other emblems employed in several countries as indicative of the consummation of marriage. If these gold cases or capsules be ancient Jewish, I can find no notice of them or their equivalents, unless they may have been for the "Philistine fore-skins" mentioned in Scripture, which were considered by the Philistines as charms or amulets for averting evil, an idea still in vogue among the Kaffirs, who carefully preserve the prepuce for this purpose.
13. Large gold armlet: its arch is considerably flattened. Though smaller, it strongly resembles the armlets worn by Assyrian warriors, as represented on the remains found at Nineveh, and which may have been trophies taken in their campaigns in Syria and Judea.
14. A gigantic bangle, with cupped ends, of the same type as Fig. 5. It appears to belong to a class of articles valued more for its weight than as an ornament. Specimens are believed to have been found worth £1,000 each. This one is worth about £300. Altogether, the gold ornaments represented in this Plate represent an intrinsic value of about £1,000.

Plate II.

15 & 16. Gold bangles or wristlets, resembling modern African ornaments of the same kind. Several specimens of each were found together, but none of the forms of ornaments represented in Plate I. were found with them; nor, in any case, were any specimens like those in Plate I. discovered either in large or small "finds" of the former.

17. The thick twisted neck-torque, referred to in the text as having been considered not unlike the torque represented on the Dying Gladiator.
18. A neck-torque composed of four thin fillets of gold twisted together.

19. A torque made of a single fillet of gold twisted. Both Figs. 18 and 19 are furnished with hooks.
20. The great torque said to have been found on the rabbit-warren, at Tara Hill, County of Meath. It differs from several found in Ireland, in having an appendage, which bears a resemblance to the wire ornament that projects in front of the hat or helmet, appearing in representations of ancient Egyptian Kings.
21. The smaller Tara torque. It has a curious appendage which appears to have been formerly folded into a flat helix or spiral. Both Figs. 20 and 21 hook and unhook most freely, if handled in a certain way; but otherwise, they appear to look firmly. The appendages of both these torques are formed of four fillets of gold, and their sections represent a cross.
22. One of the diadems or frontlets, of which the Museum posesses several specimens. All of them (like all others known) are made apparently in imitation of wire-work, strengthened at intervals by ribs. In this specimen there are only *four* such ribs, in others the numbers are different. The greatest number of ribs known in any specimen is *eleven;* and as this last, when discovered, was much tarnished by the phosphorus (?) of the soil, it may have been buried with a corpse. Hitherto we have failed in obtaining the particulars relating to the discovery of this eleven-ribbed frontlet.
23. One of the numerous flat lunette ornaments which have been found in Ireland, and may have been worn on the head by young women, like the lunette ornament on the breasts of the horned cattle represented on the Arch of Titus, at Rome, drawing a triumphal chariot. They may have been considered as a charm against the Evil Eye, or as emblematic of the protection of Diana; Astarte, and, in later times, the Virgin, is frequently represented, on old Spanish jewellery, standing on the concavity of a lunette, or having the lunette under her foot, as if, in this latter case, the emblem was considered as antagonistic to Christianity. Several articles of this kind were found, near Enfield, deposited in the ground with horns. No human bones were discovered at the place. It is worthy of remark that, in several instances, where these lunettes were found perfect, they were folded or rolled up.

THE ARYAN UNITY.*

THERE is not, perhaps, within the wide range of human enquiry, particularly as regards the ethnology of our race, anything more interesting than the affinities of language as developed in the progress of modern philology. And great as are the merits of the investigators, Bopp, Pott, and Rask, in this department of knowledge, no one of them excels Adolphe Pictet in patient research, clearness and ingenuity of deduction, and cautious watchfulness against drawing rash or premature inferences. This latter fault has indeed, long been the besetting sin of philologists; and a too copious indulgence in inferences, premature or unwarranted, for a long time went far to nullify, and even to throw ridicule on the researches of many inquiring and pains-taking men.

Pictet was not the first to claim for the Celtic dialects the right to be included in the great Indo-Germanic or Aryan family of languages. But, with the exception of Prichard, and the lamented Zeuss,[a] he has certainly done more than any other philologist, perhaps more than all other philologists put together, to prove their analogy, which had been neglected and even denied by the great linguists already named. His merits, in this respect, cannot be too highly appreciated.

Modern researches have established the fact, that languages classed as the Hindoo branch of the Aryan family of tongues, the Iranian or Aryo-Persian, the Greek, the Latin, the Celtic, the Teutonic or German, and the Lithuano-Slavonic, are all congeners, descendants from one common mother-tongue, which was spoken by the parent race who inhabited the regions bordering on the present Hindoo-Cooch, in their Bactrian cradle by the Oxus stream. Swarm after swarm hived off at remote, though varying periods, some to India, some to Irân or Persia, some to Greece, others to Italy, Spain, and Gaul, Germany and the British Islands, and some to the distant peninsula of Scandinavia. All these different countries were peopled by them during a series of successive, as well as intermediate, migrations.

It is supposed with reason, that the dates of the primary and secondary migrations of colonists, combined with the operation of subsequent natural changes and the intermixture with the other great families of the human race (the Semitic and Turanian), must have exercised an influence over the past and present complexion of the Indo-Germanic tongues, not only as regards their resemblance to the parent-tongue, but their resemblance to each other.[b] Hence it is that the Irish Celtic has greater affinity with the Latin: the Welsh Celtic with the Greek. The Russian

* Les Origines Indo-Européennes; ou les Aryas primitifs: Essai de Paléontologie Linguistique, par Adolphe Pictet, Première Partie, Paris, Joël Cherbouliez, 1859.

[a] Author of the *Grammatica Celtica*.

[b] Max Müller.

language, though resembling the Greek in its forms, is more akin to the Latin in its vocables. It was the similarity of the Welsh to the Greek which first startled the great Welsh archæologist, and the investigation of which enabled him in some degree to anticipate the discoveries of later philologers.

The belief was long held that the Sanscrit was the great mother-tongue of all this family of languages; a notion fostered by the researches of Sir William Jones, and by the subsequent investigations of Schlegel. But it seems to be now conceded on all hands that the Sanscrit itself is only a congener, a single member of the Aryan family, wonderfully preserved, indeed, and regular in its structure, and, from its presumptive close resemblance to the primitive speech, a fitter criterion of comparison than the rest. All the Aryan tongues, however, are found to resemble each other, more or less; an affinity which Pott and Bopp, in particular, have succeeded in establishing after stupendous researches, though neither of them included the Celtic in their inquiries. The resemblances are so numerous and varied that, it would be idle here to attempt selecting illustrations from the thousands that might be adduced.[c]

The roots are uncommonly well marked in the Sanscrit; less so, perhaps, in all the other Aryan languages In Greek and Latin, the pure root is the most rare form of the word[d]. Latin, however, in some points of grammar, displays greater marks of antiquity than Greek, or even Sanscrit itself.[e] But, in all the languages, the suffixes and prefixes retain their forms with such tenacity that, as Bopp remarks, they maintain themselves unaltered for thousands of years. The laws which regulate the permutation of consonants, particularly in the transference of words from one dialect to another, are of extreme interest. They are now very well defined, and have been successfully employed by Pictet in determining radical analogies between the various languages. The laws which govern the changes of vowels (known by the Sanscrit terms of *Guna and Vriddhi,*[e]) are also very note-worthy, and, like those relating to consonantal changes, are found exerting their influence in all the Aryan tongues as strongly as ever at the present day. The moderns, however, are more practical in their grammar than were their predecessors. The Sanscrit grammarians of India, who cultivated grammar for its own sake, and with the minutest accuracy, have handed down to us many observations of much importance; for we must consider as of importance those laws of language which concern, not merely the utterances of thought, but the development of the human intellect with the evidences of knowledge and thought themselves.

The influence exerted on language by the process of committing it to writing, does not seem sufficiently to have engaged attention. Of the Aryan dialects, some, such as the Irish Celtic, have been committed to writing sooner than others, as for example, the Welsh and the Scottish Gaelic,

[c] Bopp, *Vergleichende Grammatik.*

[d] Id. *On Roots*, see also Wilsford's *Origin and Mutations of the English Tongue.*

[e] Monier's *Sanscrit Grammar, p.* 27—8.

both of which have probably been considerably damaged by the operation. Even languages already written for some time are occasionally made to undergo remarkable changes. This is singularly illustrated by the devastation committed by the French Academy in producing the arbitrary French language of the present day, and by the somewhat similar, but less destructive proceedings of the Accademia della Crusca in respect of the Italian. We have a foretaste of the same process in the horrors which the phonographers threaten to inflict, and those which American lexicographers[f] and writers actually have inflicted, on our noble English tongue. Indeed, if it were practicable, it would be most desirable to fix the language as it now is, and even that every existing spoken, as well as written, tongue, should be safely enshrined in the Roman letter.

It is a subject of extreme interest to trace out the affinity of two languages so widely separated from each other in geographical position as the Sanscrit and the Celtic; and the inhabitants of our Islands of the West cannot fail to be struck with wonder as proof after proof appears of their old connection with the far East. In his able essay on the *Affinity of the Celtic Tongues with the Sanscrit*, M. Pictet (preceded in some measure by Prichard) has most satisfactorily established this. His illustrations are often curious; they are always interesting. To select a few examples:—Irish, *osna*, a sigh; in Sanscrit, *usna*; Irish *sruth*, to flow; Sanscrit, *sru*; Irish *suaraeh*, despicable, Sans. *svar*, to despise; Irish, *suanach*, a garment, Sans. *svan*, to clothe. The instances, indeed, adduced by Pictet are so numerous as to establish not merely an affinity, but in very many cases an absolute identity, of roots. He does not confine himself, however, to establishing this linguistic unity, but fully illustrates the powers and combinations of vowels and consonants, and the transformations alike effected in both these long separated tongues through the influence of what the Sanscrit grammarians (as already stated) have named *Guna* and *Vriddhi*.

Pictet makes the important remark [*Affinité*, p. 8], that a great number, if not the whole of the Celtic words, if stripped of their grammatical prefixes and suffixes, may be reduced to monosyllabic roots—always verbs—closely connected with Sanscrit roots. The phonic system of the Celtic group of languages has a marked similarity to that of the Sanscrit, while the mutations of the initial consonants can be traced back to the remotest times. A great number of Celtic compound words, indeed, can be explained only by the Sanscrit; a fact which goes far to prove that their formation was previous to the separation of the two languages. Pictet comments with great ingenuity and ability on the interpretations of Celtic words, and throws much light on this obscure subject from his minute knowledge of the ancient language of India. If this distinguished philologist, would but undertake a comparative glossary of the Celtic tongues,—a real "concordance," such as is demanded in the present state of Indo-Germanic philology—it would form a most worthy complement of his other labours. Perhaps no individual now living is so competent for the task.

The more recent work of the same author, his *Origines Indo-Européennes*, is a very remark-

[f] See Webster's English Dictionary, *passim*.

able production, and is interesting both as an able contribution to Comparative Philology, (or as he happily expresses it, "linguistic palæontology"), and as a most ingenious investigation into the origin and early seat of the Indo-Germanic peoples, as deducible from the structure of their several tongues. Here again he is indebted for a large portion of his illustrations, to the Celtic tongues, and more especially to the Irish branch of the group. So far as the work extends, it forms in fact, an admirable comparative lexicon, and only makes us more anxious that he should accomplish for the whole what he has so well done for a part. This last and best of Pictet's works is fully entitled to take its place beside the most celebrated labours of the German linguists. His object is to penetrate, by the light of philology, through the night of time, and, by the means afforded by language alone, to determine the primary seat of the nation or people from whom the widely-spread Indo-Germanic or Aryan races, one and all, have sprung. Wherever these races have penetrated, they have carried along with them (as Pictet remarks) a potent spring of progressive development. At the present moment, in fact, the tribes of the Aryan family are in possession of the earth's most advanced and most advancing civilization. They seem, in truth, to be rapidly tending to unity again; and it may not be unreasonable to anticipate the future formation of one mighty federation of the whole. The study of Comparative Philology, by pointing out their innumerable affinities in speech and thought, will facilitate the acquisition of their respective tongues, and further the consummation of so desirable an end.

After a number of general remarks of much interest, Pictet, in this work, adverts more particularly to the several points which bear upon his great inquiry. A given idiom, for example, shall have lost many of its original grammatical forms, yet have preserved more of its verbal roots than another member of the same family. Thus, he speaks of the surprise occasioned by meeting in Ireland with a genuine Sanscrit word, which, like a geological boulder, has been transported from one extremity of the Aryan world to the other. Again, he shews how the names (as determined by Comparative Philology) given by the ancient Aryan peoples to the seasons of the year afford the means of determining, to some extent, the climate of their abode, and hence its geographical position. Commencing with the Sanscrit *hima*, cold or white, he finds it in the term *Himalaya*, and traces it through the Zend language, the Afghan, Kurdish, and other oriental tongues, till he runs it down in the Greek χιών the Latin *hyems*, and the Irish *geamh*, winter. In Zend (the ancient language of Persia) *gniz* is to snow, in Lithuanian it is *snigti*, in Russian, *sniegu*, in Polish *snieg*, in Bohemian, *snih*, in Irish *sneachd*, in Anglo-Saxon, *snaw*. The Sanscrit root, *gal*, chill, is found in the Persian *jal*, Latin, *gelu*, Irish *gel*, *geal*, French, *gelée*, and Slavonic, *goloti*. It is therefore evident that the ancient Aryans must have inhabited a country where snow was familiar to them. The elevated region of Bactriana, which from other considerations he is led afterwards to consider their probable residence, has the required climate, and we know from the statements of the traveller Burns, that the river Oxus yearly freezes from bank to bank. In another chapter

Pictet endeavours to prove that, as the term for "sea" is nearly alike in all Indo-European languages, the Greek excepted, (in Irish, *muir*, genitive, *mara;* Latin, *mare;* Lithuanian, *mares;* Old Slavonic, *moru;* Sanscrit, *mira*, &c.,) so the ancient Aryans, in their original country, must have been acquainted with some large sheet of water—possibly the Caspian Sea, or Lake Aral. An examination of a number of curious relations observable between names applied to the sea and to the West, leads him to consider it most probable that the Caspian was the western boundary of the ancient Aryana. He completes his geographical evidence by pointing out the affinity of the names of mountains and rivers in the various languages of the family.

He next proceeds to examine the nomenclature of the earth's natural productions, with the view of discovering whether the results will correspond with the inference deduced from the previous evidence. The labour which he has expended in this most novel path of research has been great indeed, and can only be appreciated by a philologist. But, as he says himself, "the miner must collect the gold, grain by grain, before it can be stamped into current coin." He leaves it to his successors to work up the store of valuable material he has collected.

Commencing with the most usual metals, he shows that the progenitors of the Indo-European races were acquainted with them all. He points out the close affinity of the names applied to gold in these various allied languages, and draws attention to the fact that, running through all of these, is found a parallel series of words, signifying "yellow," or "brilliant." In like manner, the names for silver seem to have been originally derived from the idea of whiteness. In Sanscrit, *ragata* and *arguna*, "silver," and "white;" Zend, *erezata;* Armenian, *ardzath;* Persian, *arziz* (which, however, now denotes "tin," and "lead"); Greek, Ἀργυρος; Latin, *argentum;* Irish, *airget;* Welsh, *ariant;* Albanian, *ergent.* The other prevailing name for this metal, corresponding to our English *silver* (Gothic, *silubr;* Anglo-Saxon, *seolfor;* Old Alemannic, *silupar;* Old Prussian, *sirabras;* Lithuanian, *sidabras;* Old Slavonic, *sæbro;* Wendish, *sliebro),* he traces to the Sanscrit *gubhra*, silver, or *sitabhra*, brilliant white (a name also for camphor). The Irish, alone, has preserved a peculiar synonym for silver; namely, *cim*, which is now obsolete, though found in ancient manuscripts. Pictet shows the analogy of this with the Sanscrit *hima*, snow, or any very white object; proving that the same radical idea of whiteness pervades all the names applied to silver from India to Ireland. In a similar manner, he examines the names of iron, copper, brass, and lead, and demonstrates that these metals were known to all the Indo-European tribes. In a curious dissertation on the names applied to tin, he shows that the origin of the term *Cassiterides*, or "tin-islands," anciently applied to the British Islands, is to be looked for not merely in the Greek κασσιτερος, but in the Sanscrit *kastira*, the name applied to this metal, and the one probably used by the Phœnicians, when trading to Cornwall: the Moors and Arabs still employ the word *kaedir*. A knowledge of the most useful metals, at so remote a period as that which preceded the final separation of the Aryan peoples, indicates a considerable advance in material civilization, and proves also that their ancient country

must have been rich in metallic productions; hence, that it must have been a mountainous region, a conclusion which confirms the result derived from an examination of the geographical terms. The following remarks of Pictet are worth extracting:—"We must not lose sight of the fact that linguistic data give us information only as to the state of the Aryans immediately before their dispersion, that is, at the period when their civilization had reached its highest relative development. We cannot doubt that this period was preceded by several centuries, at the very least, of gradual progress; since, as we shall see, the Aryans must have been shepherds before they began to apply themselves to agriculture and industry. It is, therefore, probable that the use of the metals was acquired gradually, and in succession; and there is nothing to hinder our admitting, for the Aryans, the hypothesis lately adopted by some archæologists for the people of the North of Europe, of a "stone period" anterior to the periods of bronze and of iron; although here, as far as the primitive race is concerned, our linguistic facts are not sufficient for a demonstration. This is, certainly, no reason for rejecting it, as far as the North of Europe is concerned, if it be confirmed by the examination of ancient sepulchres and their contents; but we ought not to extend the theory prematurely beyond the field of actual observation. As regards Europe itself, we remain still in doubt whether the stone-period, in which no metal was employed, belonged to the same race of men as the periods of bronze and iron, or to some aboriginal people who preceded the immigration of the Aryans. It would certainly be rather difficult to explain how the Celts and Germans, who must have brought with them into Europe a knowledge of bronze and iron, as well as of gold and silver (since they have preserved their primitive Aryan names), could have retrograded to the use of stone before returning to that of metal. What seems most probable is, that the facility of working copper and bronze has given to those metals a wider sphere of application, without necessarily implying a loss of the knowledge of iron. This is, in fact, what took place among the Greeks, who chiefly used bronze for making their weapons in the time of Homer, a period at which, nevertheless, iron was perfectly well known [see Iliad, vi., 48]. It is certain that, in the East, this last metal has been in use from time immemorial, as mention is made in the Book of Genesis of Tubal Cain, who forged all sorts of implements out of brass and iron."—*Origines*, *p.* 185.

Pictet next directs his attention to the names of plants. It is remarkable that the Sanscrit *dru*, the name for a *tree* in general (and *daru*, wood), Persian *dar*, tree, Armanian *dzar*, is found in the Irish, *dair* the-oak-tree; Welsh, *derw;* as if "the tree" *par excellence;* and that another general term in Sanscrit for a tree, *sala*, is limited in several Indo-European languages to the willow. Thus Latin, *salix;* Greek, ἑλικη, Irish, *saileach;* Welsh, *helyg;* Anglo-Saxon, *sealh;* French, *saule;* to which may be added our provincial English *sally*. Pictet accounts for this by supposing that the emigrating tribes, on reaching their new country, would naturally apply their old names to plants, without being very particular as to their identity. A careful examination of a long series of analogies leads him to the conclusion that the oak, the birch, the beech, the ash, the elm, the willow, the poplar,

the lime-tree, the alder, yew, and pine, were natives of the country inhabited by the primitive Aryans; and consequently, that, the climate must have been both temperate and mountainous.

His researches respecting the names of fruits, grain, and roots of the various kinds, are extremely interesting, and disclose the most surprizing affinities between the various widely separated branches of the Indo-European tongues.

An examination of the names given to *flax* in all the languages of Europe, which totally differ from those in the Eastern languages, enables M. Pictet to show the high probability of an early separation of races into two distinct groupes; one of which was more addicted to agriculture, and colonized Europe in successive swarms, while the other continued in the East in the pastoral state. He supplies additional arguments from a comparison of the words applied to the operations of tillage.

Proceeding to the names of animals, he finds several for the ox and cow which are universal among the Aryan or Indo-European tongues. Thus, the Sanscrit *gó*, Zend *gaô*, Persian *gaw*, Armenian *kov*, Scandinavian *kû*, and English *cow*, are evidently identical. The Irish has *gamhuin*, a calf, corresponding with this form of the word. But the Irish word for cow, *bó*, represents another form of the same root, where *b* is substituted for *k* or *g*—a change which, for some reason, is traceable through a number of the dialects. Thus, the Greek has *βους*, Latin *bos*, Welsh *bwch*, one of the Indian dialects *bo*, and another *pau*. Another set of words agrees with the Irish *tarbh*, the name for a bull: thus, Greek *ταυρος*, Latin *taurus*, Russian *turu*, Danish *tyr*. This class, in many of the languages, takes an initial *s*, as in Sanscrit *sthira* and *sthura*, Anglo-Saxon *steor*, English *steer* and *sturk*.

An investigation of the names applied to the horse, ass, sheep, goat, pig, dog, the domestic fowls, the bee, and even to man's little enemies, the rat, mouse, flea, &c., affords the same wonderful evidence of an original unity of speech amongst the Aryan nations. Pictet extends his researches to every department of natural history, and hardly ever fails to trace the names through the whole series of languages, though altered by time and other causes. The last example we shall quote is the *oyster*, the name of which furnishes him with another proof (like that derived from *flax*) that the original mother-nation had separated into two distinct branches or stems. With very slight variations, the word *oyster* is found in all the European tongues (Latin, *ostrea;* German, *auster;* Welsh, *oestren;* Irish, *oisridh;* Russian, *ustersû;* Bohemian, *austrye*, &c.), but not in Sanscrit, Persian, or any of the Eastern languages. Now, as the oyster is found abundantly in all seas, it is impossible to explain this general agreement by supposing its name to have been borrowed from the Greek or Latin, more especially as oysters cannot be carried to a great distance. The Celts of Britain, the Anglo-Saxons, the Scandinavians, and the Slavonic nations on the Baltic Sea, can hardly all have waited for a classical name for a shell-fish which was in constant use among them. It is more rational to admit a common Aryan origin for the whole: and the fact that this name is

universal among the European branches, but unknown among the Eastern ones, indicates clearly a separation of races.

Thus, by abundant evidence derived from every department of physical knowledge, and by showing the absolute identity in many cases, and the close affinity in many more, which is found to exist in the names applied to natural objects by the different peoples, Pictet arrives at the indubitable conclusion that all the Indo-Germanic or Aryan races have sprung from one common origin. By applying the knowledge derived from these researches, he proves further, that in all probability the geographical position of their original native country coincided with the region included between the Hindo-Cooch, the Oxus and the Jaxartes, a conclusion which corresponds with any traditional evidence which we possess. He shows, moreover, that in the first migrations, they must have separated into two great bodies, the Eastern and Western; the first comprising the ancestors of the modern Indians and Persians, the other the progenitors of the Aryan peoples who now occupy Europe. The date of this separation, and of the first migration, is of course unknown to us, being long previous to the commencement of history; but Pictet gives it as his opinion (and promises to furnish the proofs in a future volume) that we must fix this epoch at least three thousand years before the Christian era.

Belfast. H. McCormac, M.D.

COURT-MARTIAL HELD TWO CENTURIES AGO, AT PORTAFERRY, COUNTY DOWN.

The manuscript of the following strange episode in the stern realities of the critical period of history wherein the scene is laid, was lately found among the papers of the Ormonde family, in the Castle of Kilkenny, and kindly furnished for publication in this Journal by the Rev. James Graves, of that town. The Marquis of Ormonde of that day was the well-known leader of the Royalists in Ireland; in high military command; and the person to whom the issue of life or death, arising from the finding of a court-martial, would be most likely to be referred by the Lords Justices, who are "the lordships" referred to in the closing paragraph of the document. This paper, now for the first time published, possesses a double interest: firstly, as presenting a singularly graphic, yet simple picture of the relation in which the officers and sergeants of the army then stood to each other in a social point of view, so different from the marked distinction of ranks in our own times; and secondly, as having a peculiar claim on the attention of the readers of this Journal throughout Ulster, from the occurrence happening at a time so historically important to this province; and in a corps par-

tieularly eonneeted with the struggle so long and so gallantly maintained in Ulster, during the period of the Civil War and the eommeneement of the Commonwealth. The reader who is desirous for fuller information on these subjeets will find them amply detailed in Reid's *History of the Presbyterian Church*, and in the *Montgomery MSS.* (published 1830).

It will suffiee for an introduetion to the document that follows to state, that Sir James Montgomery was the younger son of that Hugh Montgomery, who, acquiring by patent from James I. a eonsiderable portion of the forfeited estates of Con O'Neill, of Castlereagh, brought over that large body of Scottish eolonists whose deseendants still occupy the northern parts of the County of Down; and, being ereated Viscount Montgomery of Ards, was the ancestor of the Earls of Mount Alexander, whose names appear so eonspieuously in Irish affairs during the latter part of the seventeenth eentury. Sir James Montgomery appears to have possessed great sagaeity and eourage, and more than an ordinary share of politieal honesty — a quality rarely exhibited in those days. He was member of parliament for the County of Down; and as sueh, formed one of a deputation to the King in 1640, to remonstrate against the arbitrary government of Strafford. On the breaking out of the great Irish Rebellion in the next year, he was one of many Protestant noblemen and gentlemen who reeeived a eommission for eaeh to raise a regiment of one thousand foot and one troop of horse, to resist the forces of the native Irish. The manner in which he raised this regiment will be best told in the words of the Montgomery MSS.:—"As for gentlemen of the better sort, who had lands or estates in the Ardes, he gave them eommissions, ehargeing them to raise a quota of their tenants to serve in their companys; and he proeeeded aeeordingly with the subalterns, whom he choosed out of fee-farmers or other substantial men; and was very ready to make provision for, and to reeeive all those who had fled from their burn'd habitations: thus (as it were in an instant), he raised his regiment and troops, plaeing some offieers (who had served beyond seas) among them. Such was Lieutenant-Colonel Cochran, Major Keith, and some like Lieutenants and serjants." The regiment was scarcely raised until it was actively engaged in suppressing the revolt of the native Irish in Lecale and Iveagh, who were assisted by the more diseiplined forces of Phelim O'Neill. On the 11th February, 1642, the Antrim rebels, eommanded by Alaster MaeDonnell (afterwards celebrated in Scottish and English history as Colkitto), had defeated a large body of Protestant refugees at Ballymoney, and slain six hundred of them; thus leaving the whole of Antrim and Down open to the invasion of Con Oge O'Neill, who was advaneing with a large force from Tyrone. Sir James Montgomery's regiment was thereupon quartered in Dufferin and Castlereagh, to defend that part of Down; and it was then that the event happened at Portaferry detailed in the following document. From its proximity to Sir James's own estate; from the fact of its proprietor, Savage, being brother-in-law to Sir James, and himself Captain of a troop of horse in Viscount Montgomery's regiment; and from its situation on the sea-eoast, where supplies eould find ready aeeess; Portaferry would appear to have

been most eligible head-quarters for Sir James's regiment; and if the principal officers were absent at more distant stations, it is very probable that discipline would be considerably relaxed at head-quarters, and that such drunken brawls as that which caused the court-martial might readily occur.

From the extract given above, from the Montgomery MSS., it may be inferred that many of the officers and sergeants were of those hardy bands of mercenaries, whose characters are so well personified in the *Dugald Dalgetty* of Sir Walter Scott. It is now a well-known fact that the character of Dalgetty was drawn by Scott, from the original presented by Sir James Turner;[a] who, at the very time of this court-martial, was coming to Ireland as Lieutenant General of the Scottish forces, under Monro, which landed at Carrickfergus in April, 1642, and were immediately joined by several of the Irish regiments lately raised; and amongst them, Sir James Montgomery's. For the next six years the Irish regiments formed part of the forces under Monro's command, and subsequently under Monk's; until, suspecting the complicity of the latter with Cromwell's designs, they withdrew from under his command, and maintained a sort of armed neutrality until the advent of Cromwell in Ireland, in June 1649, when the Presbyterian forces abandoned Ireland for Scotland; and Sir James Montgomery, having taken part in the battle of Dunbar, where Cromwell gained "a crowning mercy," and having attempted to make his escape to Holland, was captured at sea and killed; as fully detailed in the Montgomery MSS.

To return to head-quarters at Portaferry:—The names of the officers and sergeants given in the document, would show that the Scottish element principally abounded: some of them can be traced through their subsequent career. Cochran is probably the Colonel Cochran mentioned by Turner, who, being in command of one of the regiments that marched over the

[a] *Sir James Turner.*—The amusing autobiography of this soldier of fortune was printed in 1829 from the original MSS. in the Advocate's Library, Edinburgh; and from it Scott has drawn many of the traits of the immortal Dalgetty. The following extracts will show by what a convenient code of morals he squared his military duty with his conscience; and in doing so, he only followed the example of greater names of that century, from Monk to Marlboro':—

"I had swallowed without chewing, in Germanie, a very dangerous maxime which militarie men there too much follow; which was, that so we serve our master honestlie, it is no matter what master we serve." . . . . "All this while I did not take the national Covenant; not because I refused to doe it, for I wold have made no bones to take, sucare, and signe it, and observe it too; for I had then a principle, having not yet studied a better one, that I wronged not my conscience in doeing anything I was commanded to doe by these whom I served." Being likely, however, to fall under suspicion as a "malignant" if he did not take the Covenant, he complied with public opinion in the following manner:—"I made a fashion (for indeed it was no better) to take the Covenant, that under the pretence of the Covenant we might ruine the Covenanters; a thing (though too much practis'd in a corrupt worlde) yet in itsself dishonest and disavouable; for it is certaine that no evill suld be done that good may come of it."—If such were the ethics of the officers of Sir James Montgomery's regiment—a regiment raised by a moderate Royalist, equally opposed to the anti-monarchical tendencies of the English and ultra-Royalist zeal of the Irish—it will account for the eagerness with which they sought to have their regiment incorporated with Monro's Scottish forces (in November, 1643); but which offer was not so readily received by that general, or acceded to by their own commander.

Border, under Lesley, in 1640, was suspected of Royalism, and cashiered by the Scottish Parliament. This would be rather a recommendation to the good opinion of the moderate Royalist, Sir James Montgomery. Cochran's name, as well as Keith's (afterwards Lieut.-Colonel), appears at the several councils of war held in at Antrim, in 1645; at Lisburn, in 1647; and at Newtownards, in 1649. In some of these, also, appear the names of Colin Maxwell, J. Austin (or Augustin), James Hamilton, and also a Fergus Kenedy, who may be the Lieutenant Kenedy named as present at the court-martial, but whose name is not subscribed. It is a curious circumstance that so many names appear amongst the signatures which are not specified in the heading, where there are, on the other hand, many names (especially those of sergeants) whose signatures do not appear at the end. The only plausible solution of these anomalies is, that it was only those who could write well that were called on to subscribe, and that many were present at the hearing of the case whose names were not specified in the opening of the court. The signatures are all pretty good specimens of writing; several indulging in the fanciful interlacing of the initial of the Christian name with the first letter of the surname, which we see so prevalent in the monogram carvings of that age, and which is again coming into fashion. It is probable that the greater number of the officers and sergeants present were of those described by Scott as—

"Adventurers they from far, who roved
To live by battle, which they loved.
All brave in arms, well train'd to wield
The heavy halbert, brand, and shield:"

and who, although perhaps living a dissipated life when not on duty, would the more readily be inclined to avenge the consequences of dissipation on the comparatively innocent, but less important, delinquent; and accordingly, and contrary to all modern ideas of justice, condemned poor Sergeant Kyle to be shot to death; a sentence which it is to be hoped the Marquis of Ormonde at once reversed. It is certain, from what we know of the constitution of armies in the 16th and 17th centuries, that, being generally the feudal followers of the crown, or of some great noble, there was not such a distinction of ranks as now pervades the English military system; but one more analogous to that which we know exists in many of the Continental armies of the present day. Men of gentle and even of noble blood entered the service in the lowest grade: and we must conclude that in those days when social distinctions were often merged in the bowl, the lieutenant and sergeant may have quarrelled in their cups, and challenged each other on a perfect equality as relates to their feelings as "gentlemen;" and poor Sergeant Kyle, when he found Lieutenant Baird determined on a quarrel, appears to have considered himself quite the equal of the Lieutenant in the privileges of the *duello*, having once got over the qualms arising from his inferior position in military parlance. Yet it is

plain he either relented towards his antagonist (perhaps being conscious that himself, being the more sober, had the other at his mercy), or that he foresaw the consequence of a fight *à l'outrance*, and so wished to avoid the double risk of killing a defenceless adversary, and suffering military execution for so doing. G. S.

"A Courte of Warre houlden by the chiefe offieers of S^{r} James Mountgomry, knight, his regiment, at Porteferry, the second day of Mareh, 1642.

Att wh^{h} were present—

The Leuetanant Collonell.		
The Major.		
Captaine Samuell Mountgomry.	Leuetanant Kenedy.	Ensigne Crawford.
Captaine Wardlaw.	Leuetanant Will.	Ensigne Hugh Mountgomry.
Captaine Houston.	Leuetanant M^{c}Andrew.	Ensigne Biggar.
Captaine Maxwell.	Leuetanant Girvan.	Ensigne Maxwell.
Captaine Wauchop.	Leuetanant Hamilton.	Ensigne William Mountgomry.

Sergeants present:

Sergeant Corrie, Sergeant Broadfoot, Sergeant Crawford, Sergeant Edgar, another Sergeant Edgar, Sergeant Kernechan, Sergeant Ffisher, Sergeant Fflouck, Sergeant Ronald, Sergeant Logan, Sergeant M^{c}Clannan.

In presence of whom, one Sergeant Walter Kyle was produced, and accused for killing of one Leuetanant William Baird, both of them being of the sayd regiment; and the sayd Sergeant Kyle answered for himselfe to the effect following:—

That there had alwayes been kindness betweene Leuetanant Baird and him; That the sayd Leuetanant, a litle before night on Wednesday, the 22th of Februarie, as they were going out of the towne of Portefery to their own quarters in the country, invited him, the sayd sergeant, to take a drink in the howse of James Houston by the way. After theire being there a certaine space, eame one William Hutton, an aequaintance of the sayd sergeant, who drinking in another roome, the sayd sergeant went to that roome where the sayd Hutton was and the sayd sergeant, where there were occasioned some words of difference betweene the sayd Leuetanant who eame in after, and him, the sayd sergeant, and soe that the Leuetanant would eommand the sergeant, who was not of his eompany, to drink to whome hee should appoint. The sergeant answered that hee would obey him in the field upon serviee, but noewhere else. Hee saith that the Leuetanant demanded him to fight with him, but that hee, the sayd sergeant, denyed, because they were not of equall place. That the

Leuetanant thereuppon disclaimed the places of Leuetanant or Ensigne, and called himselfe a Sergeant to cause the sayd Sergeant Kyle to answere him; and the sayd Sergeant Kyle being demanded if hee made any challenge of combat unto the sayd Leuetanant by offering a blow or in any other way, answereth hee did not. And further saith, that the sayd Leuetanant Baird called him out and would needs have him fight with him, it being moone-light; and as they fought togeather a while, people followed and parted them; that in ende hee, the sayd sergeant, fledd away and the Leuetanant overtook him hard by a diteh, and the people erying to him "fey sergeant, either leape the diteh or turne and defend thyselfe," upon which the sayd sergeant turned on a suddayne, held out his sword to hold off the Leuetanant, who rann upon his sayd sword and wounded himselfe in the head.

Upon which the Court called and examined the witnesses undermentioned: —

William Hutton sworne and examined saith—That the examined and James McCullagh, going to drink together a little after night-falling, on Wednesday the twentie-two of February, the sayd Leuetanant and Sergeant rann into the roome where they were drinking, and the Sergeant being first there, offered the chair hee sate in to the Leuetanant, but the Leuetanant refused it, and sate upon the end of a chest. Afterward the Leuetanant and Sergeant fell a ieering one an other, upon wch the Sergeant tould him that if hee would trey him hee would feind him a man, or if hee had ought to say to him. Also Sergeant Kyle threw down his glove, saying there is my glove, Leuetanant, unto which the Leuetanant sayd nothing. Afterward divers ill words were betweene them, and the Leutenant threatning him, the said sergeant, the sergeant tould him that hee would defend himselfe and take no disgracc at his hands, but that hee was not his equall hee being his inferior in placc, hee being a Leuetanant and the sayd Kyle a Sergeant. Afterward the sergeant threw down his glove the seeond tyme, and the Leuetanant not having a glove demanded James McCullagh his glove to throw to the sergeant, who would not give him his glove; upon that the Leuetanant held upp his thumbe, licking on it with his tongue and saying, "there is my parole for it." [b] Afterward Sergeant

[b] *Licking on his thumbe, and saying, there is my parole for it.* —This very ancient form of giving a pledge or promise has nearly disappeared from amongst our customs: the shadow f it may still, however, be seen in the mode in which dealings and bargains are conducted in fairs and markets, by the purchaser spitting on a piece of money, laying it in the hand of the seller, and closing his own hand on it. It is still a common saying in the parts of Ulster where the inhabitants are of Scotch descent, when two parties agree in a bargain, or have a eommunity of opinion: "We may lick thooms upon that."

The custom remained as a legal form of bargain in Scotland to a late period. Erskine, in his Institutes, says it was "a symbol anciently used in proof that a sale was perfeeted; which continues to this day in bargains of lesser importance among the lower rank of the people—the parties licking and joining of thumbs; and decrees are yet extant, sustaining sales upon '*summonses of thumb licking*,' upon this medium, 'That the parties had licked thumbs at finishing the bargain.'"

Jamieson, in his Scottish Dictionary, remarks, "This custom, though now apparently credulous and childish, bears indubitable marks of great antiquity. Tacitus, in his Annals (Lib. xii.), states that it existed amongst the Iberians; and Ihre alludes to it as a custom amongst the Goths. I am well assured by a gentleman who has long resided in India, that he has observed the Moors [by which, it is presumed, Jamieson

Kyle went to the Leuetanant's eare and asked him "when?" The Leuetanant answered "presently." Upon that Sergeant Kyle went out and the Leuetanant followed with his sword drawen under his arme, and being a space distant from the house said, "where is the villain now?" "Here I am for you," sayd Kyle, and soe strooke fiercely one at another, that either the sword fell out of the Leuetanant's hand or was stricken out, and these that gathered togeather about parted them, and held them awhile asunder; and this examined held Sergeant Kyle but the others letting the Leuetanant to slipe out of grippe came upon the sergeant, and then this examined feareing the stroke should fall upon himselfe turned the sergeant loose. After that they went about twice or thrice and soe were parted, and then Sergeant Kyle fledd untill he came to a ditch neer by, and the Leuetanant following, some of the people sayd "fye! turn thee Kyle or be killed," upon wch the sayd sergeant turned on a suddaine and held out his sword, and the Leuetanant rann uppon the sayd sword, was wounded and dyed within a short tyme of the same: And further saith not.

James McCullagh, sworne and examined, saith to all purposses material, and agreeth with the former deponent untill the tyme that the sword fell out of the Leuetanant's hand, after which hee knoweth not any thing.

John Cambell, sworne and examined, saith that when the said Leuetanant and Sergeant were drinking with William Hutton and James McCullagh, the Leuetanant offered to fling the drink in the sergeant's ffaee; upon which this examinat left them and went about his own buissines, and returning that way thereafter, found them the sayd Leuetanant and Sergeant fighting, and saw the sword fall out of the Leuetanant's hand, and healped to hould the sayd Leuetanant for a tyme; after that the Leuetanant followed the Sergeant, and they went once or twise about in fight. Afterwards Sergeant Kyle ffledd unto a ditch, and some crying "Kyle, either leap the ditch or turne and defend theself;" upon which the sayd Kyle turned and held out his sword, and the sayd Leuetanant rune upon it, and wounded himselfe, of which hee dyed; And further saith not.

The Sentence of the sayd Court of Warre.

It is agreed and concluded by all the officers aforenamed in the sayd Court of Warre by one consent, that the sayd Sergeant William Kyle is guiltie of killing of the sayd Leuetanant Baird; and soe, according to the law of armies and articles of warr, the sayd Sergeant Kyle is found guiltie of death by all the aforenamed officers, and is to be shott att a poste till death; soe wee having noe

means the Mohammedans either of Arab or Mongolian descent, as distinguished from the Hindoos] when concluding a bargain, do it in the very same manner as the vulgar in Scotland, by *licking their thumbs*." Something of the same kind prevailed amongst the Romans; and the word *pollicèri*—to promise, to engage—has by many been considered to be derived from *pollex, icis*, the thumb, instead of from the preposition *per*, and *liceri*, to be allowed or granted. [See also, on this subject, *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. vi., p. 189 and 279.]

gènerall person here, wee have sent here this censure of said Court of Warr unto yor Lopp., desiring to know yor Lopp's pleasure herein whether hee shal be put to death or not.

As witness our hands, the second day of March, 1642.

Bryc [Bryce] Crawford.	George Keith.
H. Montgomerie.	S. Montgomeri.
William Montgomerie.	Archbald Wardlaw.
John Bigart.	Patrick Houstonn.
John Maxwell.	Collin Maxwill.
John Bigam [*query* Bigham ?].	Collin Wachub.
Ninian Crawford.	John Will.
James Curie.	John Crachtonn.
Giles Flock.	James Hamiltonn.
John Ronnald.	J. Austein.
H. Cochran.	J. Garven.

ANTIQUARIAN NOTES AND QUERIES.

The article on Legends, in this *Journal* [vol. vii., p. 338], by the Rev. James O'Laverty, suggests many interesting considerations as to the ancient connexion between nations long separated from each other. I am persuaded that much important truth may yet be discovered in the researches of the fashionable study of ethnology, by attending to the indications afforded by seemingly insignificant coincidences in little matters of customs and traditions. The very jests and amusing stories of a people are often traceable to remote and ancient sources.

A curious instance occurs in a common "Joe Miller" story, of a very poor and very hungry man, who could not resist the temptation to order a steak at a cook's shop, but, on its being dressed, found his appetite so far allayed by the mere smell of the savoury meat that he resolved to save his last pence, and leave it untasted: whereupon the cook brought him before a magistrate, and insisted on being paid at least for the *smell* of his dish; and the magistrate condemned him to surrender the coppers; which, however, he only jingled in the ear of the cook, and then returned to the famished defendant, pronouncing that the *sound* of the cash was sufficient payment for the *odour* of the beef. Now this is substantially borrowed from an ancient Egyptian story, recorded by one of the Greek writers, the details of which do not bear repeating to modern British ears. I am ashamed to confess that I have forgotten the author, and have in vain searched my books for the passage. But that I did read it many years ago I am quite certain. Perhaps some of your readers may hit on it.

For another instance, I have myself heard a boatman in Cork harbour tell of a rat there going to feed on an oyster, whose shell lay invitingly open, at low water; but the oyster, closing on his snout, held him fast till he was drowned by the returning flood-tide. This agrees exactly with one of La Fontaine's fables. But the same incident was found many centuries ago, by one of the earliest western travellers, popularly current in India: where, however, it is told of a fox—the oysters there being so much larger. Many commonly-retailed jokes and bon-mots might thus be easily traced back, from land to land, and from age to age; and the evidence thus hinted, of mutual intercourse, would often be found more convincing than that drawn from coincidences of greater seeming importance.

This observation of agreement in traditions becomes also very interesting and instructive in a critical view of the relative merits of ancient writers, especially poets. Mr. O'Laverty's remarks illustrate this in the case of Homer; who would be very unfairly judged of if we ascribed to him the invention of all the fables that form so great a part of his narratives. Even Longinus and Plato blamed him for faults respecting the characters assigned by him to the gods. When, however, we regard these as the established

popular traditions of his age and country, we only admire his judgment in weaving into one mighty and varied work those incidents and descriptions which were best fitted to engage the prejudices and sympathies of the nations among whom he composed his ever-memorable lays. Thus, we justly praise in his poems what becomes only silly and contemptible in the imitations of servile moderns. Homer and Virgil are to be admired for things which are only ridiculous in Epics manufactured by "the sons of little men," according to the approved "receipt." Mythological subjects and allusions are striking and venerable in Hesiod, and Pindar, and Callimachus, and Horace, which are tiresome and ridiculous in the Cockney idolators of Endymion, and Tithonus, and Andromeda. Shakspeare more suitably and wisely has introduced the fairies and the witches.

Mr. Pinkerton, in his mediæval history of Saint Patrick's Purgatory [*Journal*, vol. iv.], has judiciously applied the same principle to the illustration of Dante; whose strange work might be very unfairly censured, if we attributed to himself the contrivance of the plan, and the invention of the principal incidents. Nor would Milton escape unmerited blame, if we forgot that his descriptions of hell, and his history of wars between good and bad angels, were merely in accordance with the far-derived persuasion universally prevalent in his times.

I believe, also, that seeming trifles of this kind may often be found to throw a sure light upon the origin of civilization in remote countries. Let us take the case of Mexico and Peru. There, if we adopt the theories of Prescott and others, the arts and polity of the Aztecs, and the laws and institutions of Manco Capac and the Incas, were the indigenous growth of some countries in the North East of America; where they arose a few centuries before the Spanish invasion, and whence they migrated southward. But all proof and probability everywhere are utterly against the supposition of any savage people spontaneously civilizing themselves. In every instance, the germs of improvement can be shown to have been imported from some more anciently civilized region. This theory is well developed in a work on the subject by the late W. C. Taylor, LL.D.; who derived his leading ideas from Archbishop Whately. The same view, however, is clearly stated and convincingly argued, in a work entitled *The Knowledge of Divine things from Revelation, not from Reason*. This book was published about a century ago, by the Rev. T. Smith, Rector of St. Catherine's, Dublin: it deserves to be better known than it is. Many things seem to indicate that some nations, possessed of great skill in some arts and of much political wisdom, crossed the Pacific from Asia, and settled in America. Their temples, their idols, their pyramidal high places for sacrifice, all too nearly resemble the same class of objects in some parts or other of the old world, to leave a doubt of a community of origin. A coincidence occurs in the little circumstance of the print of the *bloody hand* on parts of those buildings. The red hand is found as a talisman among the superstitious Jews in Morocco: and I suspect the same was the origin of the "red hand of the O'Neills" in Ulster. Again, I remember to have seen, at the Royal Irish Academy, a Peruvian mummy with which were wrapped up

several small articles; among which were one or two little models of ships or canoes, painted red. This reminded me of Homer's epithet "red-cheeked," applied to ships. This Peruvian had long hair, the locks of which were confined at intervals with little transverse bands of gold. I could not but think of Euphorbus, whose "curls were *bound like wasps* with gold and silver."—[*Iliad*, xvii. 52.] This mummy was in a sitting posture. Now Herodotus (4. 190) says of the Nasamones, in the North of Africa, that they buried their dead sitting. I have no doubt that the more that is learned of the antiquities of the Asiatic nations, the more will be discovered to throw light on the vestiges of early American civilization.

A singular instance of unexpected agreement between nations, the most widely separated in position and character, presents itself in that strange weapon, the Australian *boomerang;* the exact counterpart of which has been found in the catacombs of Egypt. The resemblance is very striking between Herodotus' description of the manners of the Scythians and some characteristics of the American Indians. The use of an instrument, exactly like the South American "lasso," by the Sagartii, an Asiatic people, (Herod. 7. 85) is also remarkable. I may notice likewise the Russian practice of hot vapour baths, followed by immersion in cold water, or even snow. What are called "sweating-houses," beside streams in some of our Irish mountain glens, are the same in principle; and, if I mistake not, just the same are in use among the North American Indians. These also have a kind of game, played by their young men with balls and clubs, exactly like the Irish "hurling" or "goaling." Each of such resemblances is trifling in itself; but they make up together a strong cumulative evidence of a common original.

A curious conjecture of a critical nature once occured to me, on seeing in a museum at Bristol a rude earthen Peruvian vessel. It was like a small vase, with two handles, and had under it four clumsy little legs, which rested on a sort of a platform, raised at some height above a disk of the same diameter, which served as a bottom for the entire. These reminded me of the two bottoms of Nestor's cup.—[*Iliad* 11., 632.] I think a good designer might imagine a massy silver cup that would better answer the poet's description than the form assigned by any of the commentators. COSMAS.

EXTINCTION OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN IRELAND.—I beg to correct a probable error in my paper on "Life in Old Ireland," [vol. vii., p. 277] where I have asserted that "in the parliament of 1541, none of the peers but Lord Ormond understood English." The State Letter, printed in the *State Papers*, vol. iii., p. 306, mentions that the speech of the speaker, on the opening of parliament, was "by the Earl of Ormonde declared in Irish." I had taken my assertion from a less trustworthy source. Indeed, the same letter styles the peers "English and Irish;" and it is probable that Lords Gormanstown, Slane, Delvin, Howth, and others, spoke the old English dialect of the Pale, such as the *Book of Howth* is written in. HERBERT F. HORE.

IRISH LANGUAGE IN AFRICA.—In a communication from Lord Talbot de Malahide [vol. vii., p. 347], it is stated that the African dialect

mentioned by Sadi Ombark Benbey as resembling the Irish, is spoken "in a mountainous district near Mogador, called *Sus* or *Suz*." Now, the Berber language is spoken from the mountains of *Souse*, which border the Atlantic Ocean, to those of the Ollelétys, which rise above the plains of Kairoân, in the kingdom of Tunis. It will, therefore, be easy for any of your readers who have paid attention to the Berber language to determine whether it has any affinity with the Irish. SENEX.

> "That raught at mountains with outstretched arms,
> Yet parted but the shadow with his hand."
> —*King Henry VI., Act* i., *Sc.* iv. *Part* iii.

Query. Had Shakspeare heard of the famous "Spectre of the Brocken," produced at sunrise by the shadow of a spectator standing on the summit of a mountain; or had he witnessed such a phenomenon? RETRO.

The following are examples of provincialisms common in Ulster which occur also in Shakspeare. "Contemptible," in the sense of "contemptuous." "He is a man of a *contemptible* spirit." [*All's Well that ends well.*]—"To think long," for "to long:" "I thought long." [*Romeo and Juliet.*] RETRO.

"Cap him," is a familiar cry in Ulster when a horse or other beast is running astray. This probably means to stop him, by waving one's cap at him. It resembles the Spanish phrase "capear el toro," used in the bull-fights, when a bull, pursuing his enemy, is diverted by another displaying his red cloak, *capa*, before him.

CELTIBER.

The French are particularly prone to altering the proper names of other nations, so that they sometimes can hardly be recognized. A very curious instance of this occurs in Rapin's *Histoire d'Angleterre*, liv. xv.; where, in recording the burning of George Wishart by Cardinal Beaton, he calls the Scottish martyr *Sophocard!* Seeking for the origin of this strange misnomer, I found, in Buchanan's *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, "*Sophocardius*," a pedantic version of "*Wise heart.*" "*Wishart*," however, is the same as the Norman "Guiscard." Rapin evidently had consulted no authority but Buchanan's Latin history. RETRO.

HOGMANAY NIGHT.—Mr. Drennan's speculations on Celtic etymologies [vol. vii., p. 214] are very curious, and in most instances seem correct. I think, however, he has looked in the wrong direction for the origin of the Scottish *Hogmanay*. The following passage, from the *Heimskringla*, or Chronicle of the Kings of Norway, gives a more probable explanation. "Hakon was a good Christian when he came to Norway. He kept Sundays, and some token of the greatest holydays. He made a law that the festival of Yule should begin at the same time as Christian people held it; and that every man should brew a maling of malt into ale, and therewith keep the Yule holy as long as it lasted. Before him the beginning of Yule, or the Slaughter-night [*Högg nott*] was the night of mid-winter; and Yule was kept for three days thereafter." On this passage Mr. Laing, the translator, has the following note: "*Hoggn nott*, or mid-winter night, at which the Yule of the Odin-worshippers began, is supposed by Olavius to have taken its name from the slaughtering, *hogging*, or hewing down of cattle on that night for the festival. *Hogmaney night* is still the name in Edinburgh for the first night of Yule among the common people." SENEX.

WOODEN HORSE-SHOES.—In turning over the pages of the *Ulster Journal of Archæology* for 1858 and '59, the articles on ancient Irish horse

shoes reminded me that I had in my possession a *wooden* horse shoe, found in Ireland; a notice of which may, perhaps, be interesting to some future inquirer on the subject. It is made of root of oak; and advantage seems to have been skilfully taken of the natural crooked form of the wood, which almost of itself turns into the necessary shape, and required but little paring to become a horse-shoe. One side is in its natural state, but the other was flattened by some artificial process, which strikes me as worthy of remark. It has the appearance of having been done by a number of very small instruments of a chisel form, acting from a common centre, and the grooves formed by them, one close to another, with most of the ridges made by the process, are still visible all over this particular side. The marks left by the teeth of a comb, passed over a soft substance, would give something of the appearance it presents. Its size is about the same as that figured in the *Ulster Journal* for 1859, page 168, fig. 1, though the general form is somewhat different. There are no nail-holes in it; but as it was found with three other wooden shoes which have nail-holes in them, it is certain that such were intended to be used in fastening it on. I may remark that my shoe does not appear to have been ever used, or indeed, fully finished.

The person from whom I procured it informed me that it was found, with the others already mentioned, under the roots of a very old thorn-tree in the County Monaghan. These latter are stated to have every appearance of being used; and are now in the possession of a nobleman residing in the neighbourhood in which they were found.

Dublin, 1860. THOMAS O'GORMAN.

In the seventh page of a report of the ethnological excursion to the western isles of Aran, in 1859, by Mr. Martin Haverty, kindly sent me by W. R. Wilde, Esq., are some observations on the name of the island of Aran. Now, the name signifies "the Bread Isle;" and it seems to be remarkable that in a party consisting of seventy, amongst which were several distinguished Irish scholars, any difficulty in this respect should have occurred. The name suggested by Mr. Haverty is from an ancient writer of the fourteenth century, viz., Augustin Magraiden, "namely, that *Ara* signifies a kidney, in Irish, such being the shape of the large island." The word *Aran* is the Irish and Scotch Gaelic for bread. In Ulster, the term *Maide-aran* signifies a bread-stick, and *aran-seagail* is the Irish for rye-bread. The Isle of Arran, in the Frith of Clyde, as well as our Irish islands of Aran, both south and northern, appear to take their names from the same origin. I should not have troubled you with this information, but for the fanciful derivation given by Mr. Haverty, of which he says "no better has yet been discovered by Irish scholars." We have many names of islands, such as the Cow Island, the Calf Island; amongst the Mourne range of mountains we have the Cock Mountain, *Slabh na Coileach;* and the Hen Mountain, *Sliabh na Ceiree;* but the trivial circumstances which may have suggested these names would now be altogether unworthy of inquiry. In some districts of Scotland, which produce pig-nuts, the locality is called *the Arans;* these roots are not disagreeable to the taste; and as they are termed *Aran nuts*, or bread nuts, by both the Saxon and Keltic Scots, they may readily have registered their Erse or Gaelic name in such of our islands as produced them in abundance. The river Bannockburn, in the parish of Saint Ninians, N.B., is mentioned by Blind Henry,

who calls it the Burne of Brede, *i.e.*, the river of bread, *bannock* being the name of a loaf, or cake of oatmeal, and *burn* the Saxon-Scotch for river or rivulet. Would you not think the word *bread* was more applicable to an island than to a river? The island might give us bread, it is true, and deny us fish; whereas, the stream might reluctantly yield us fish, and withhold from us the staff of life. One of the Hebrides is named the Pig or Sow Island. Ireland was in ancient times named Muicinis, the island of swine. —[see Sir James Ware's Antiquities, vol. ii., chap. 1, page 11.] You are doubtless aware that Scottish lairds are frequently known by the names of their estates; thus the laird of the Pig Island was called in his native Gaelic *Muc;* but the young proprietor, when once in London, finding the Saxon equivalent,—*Muck*, disagreeable, endeavoured to alter it; on which the old Highlanders, striking the hilts of their claymores, tenacious of their language and of their native island, would permit of no alteration.

JOHN BELL.

ANSWERS TO QUERIES.

JOHANNES DE SACRO BOSCO [Queries, vol. vii., p. 265].—Your correspondent "T. Harlin" will find brief notices of *John a Sacro Bosco* (John Holywood) in Leland, Bayle, Pitts, Dempster, Stanihurst, Montucla, and Ware. Some say he was a native of Yorkshire, others that he was a Scotchman; but the more competent authorities speak of him as having been born at Holywood, in the County of Dublin. All agree that he was a most distinguished philosopher and mathematician and that he lived about 1180-1244. His treatise *De Sphaera*, was the subject of many a learned commentary after his time. It was printed at Venice, in the year 1518, folio; at Antwerp, in 1573, 8vo; and at Cologne, in 1610, 8vo. He also wrote treatises on the following subjects—viz., *De Algorismo; De Ratione Anni, sive de Compnto Ecclesiastico;* and *De Astrolabio*. He died at Paris, and was interred there in the cloisters of the Convent of St. Maturine, known also as the *Convent of the Holy Trinity for the Redemption of Captives*. A *sphere* is appropriately engraved on his tomb, accompanied by the following inscriptions, which, with the translations, have been preserved in the notices of Pitts and Ware:—

"M. Christi bis C. quarto deno quater anno,
De Sacro Bosco discrevit tempora Ramus,
Gratia cui nomen dederat divina Johannis."

"That Top-branch from *Holy Wood* tracing his line,
Johannes entitled, by favour divine,
Divided the æras from Christ, as appears,
One thousand two hundred and forty-four years."

The above, both in the original and translation, seems to me rather obscure. The following, which is inscribed round the edges of the monument may, perhaps, be regarded as in better taste:

"De Sacro Bosco qui computista *Johannes*,
Tempora discrevit, jacet hic a tempore raptus;
Tempora qui sequeris, memor esto quod moriceris;
Si memor es plora, miserans pro me precor, ora."

"*John Holywood*, who reckon'd many a year,
By Time arrested, lies interred here;
And you, who catch the moments as they fly
On wings of Time, remember you must dye.
If you remember what must come to thee,
In pity weep, and weeping pray for me."

Should Mr. Harlin wish to see an account of the various editions of John Holywood's several works, he will find it in Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica*, or *General Index to British and Foreign Literature*. He might also consult *MacKenzie's Scotch Writers*, Hutton's *Dictionary*, Chambers and Thomson's

Biogr. Dictionary of Eminent Scotchmen, and Chalmer's *General Biogr. Dictionary*. G. H.

Dicuil [Queries, vol. vii., p. 265].—Of this writer very little is known. It is conjectured that his *Treatise of the Survey of the Provinces of the Earth* was written about the close of the seventh century. In it he states that the *Survey* on which he writes had been made by persons commissioned by the Emperor Theodosius. It is fairly enough inferred that he was a native of Ireland, from a passage of his Treatise, in which he says: "There are scattered about *our island of Ireland* some islands that are small, and some very small." We have never seen any fuller extract ftom his Treatise, which we regret, as the above contains truth, so *far as it goes*. It is reported that he wrote another treatise, *De decem Questionibus Artis Grammaticae*. As he was an Irishman, O'Reilly has, probably, noticed him in his account of *Early Irish Writers*. There is a very brief reference to him in Ware. His treatise on geography was printed at Paris, in 1708, under the title of *Dicuili Liber de Mennsura Orbis Terrae, ex duobus Codd. MSS. Bibliothecae Imperialis, nunc primum in lucem editus à Car. Athan. Walckenaer*. G. H.

The MacKenzies [Queries, vol. vii., p. 177]. In support of their claim to a descent from the Norman family of Fitzgerald, the clan of the MacKenzies produce a fragment of the records of Icolmkill, which, among the combatants at the battle of Largs in 1262, mentions "Peregrinus et Hibernus nobilis ex familia Geraldinorum, qui proximo anno ab Hibernia pulsus apud regem benigne acceptus hinc usque in curia permansit et in præfato prælio strenue pugnavit." They also quote a Charter from Alexander III. of the lands of Kintail to Colin Fitzgerald, the supposed ancestor of the MacKenzie family. Senex.

Bon-fire [vol. vi., p. 190, vol. vii., p. 77].—I am of opinion that this word comes from the Danish *baun*, a beacon, and not from the burning of *bones*. The word is said to be still preserved in the name of *Banbury* and other towns in England. W. L.

Bon-fire.—The remark of the French traveller in Ireland (quoted vol. vii., p. 77) regarding the fires of *bones* made in Connaught by children on some holiday, is corroborated by the following passage in an ancient MS. in the Harleian collection [No. 2345, col. 50]:—"In vigilia enim beati Johannis colligunt pueri in quibusdam regionibus *ossa* et quædam alia immunda, et insimul cremant, et exinde producitur fumus in aere." "For on St. John's eve the boys in some districts collect *bones* and other refuse which they burn together, and thence great smoke is produced in the air." This refers to the custom as then prevailing in parts of England. I have been informed that similar fires are still made on St John's day in some of the remote districts of France. Scrutator.

Doit [Queries vol. vii., p. 352].—This is the Dutch *duit*, a word very probably brought to Ireland by King William the Third's soldiers. It is however originally Venetian, being a contraction of "da otto soldi," *i.e.* (a piece) of eight soldi. Senex.

Albavado, *alias* Belfast [Queries, vol vii., p. 352].—The following particulars are given by Reeves [*Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, p. 7, note]:—"White-church, now Shankill, the parish which contains the town of Belfast. By the charter of James I. it was annexed to the Deanery of Connor, under the name of 'Ecclesia Alba de Vado.' In the Terrier it is called 'Eeclesia de Sti. Patricii de vado albo;' and in the Ulster Visitation Book, 'Eeclesia de Albovaddo *alias* Belfast.' Belfastienisis.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SCOTTISH AND ENGLISH FORCES IN THE NORTH OF IRELAND, A.D. 1642.

Among the many very rare pamphlets preserved in what is termed "the King's Collection," in the British Museum,[a] there is one (probably unique) bearing the following protracted title; which, "contriving a double debt to pay," is at once both title-page and index of contents:

"A True Relation of the Proceedings of the Scots and English Forces in the North of Ireland; sent in a letter to Mr. Tobias Siedgwicke, living in London; Relating these particulars, viz:—

1. Their meeting at Drumboe, in the County of Antrim.
2. The manner of their march towards the Nury, with the taking of a Fort neere Kilwarlin Woods.
3. The taking of the Towne and Castle of the Nury, and the releasing of divers Prisoners of note.
4. The great spoile they tooke in those parts, with great terrour to the Rebels, and their flights from those parts.
5. Divers skirmishes with the Rebels in McCarton's Woods.
6. The desires of the Earle of Antrim to be received into the English Army.

With divers other things worthey your observation.

London: Printed for F. Coules and T. Bates. 1642."

The circumstances that caused the Scottish army, under Major-General Monro, to be sent into Ulster are too well known to require notice here. It is the dark and intricate bye-ways of history, not the plain, beaten tracks of the main road, that have to be retraced and explored. It is enough to say that the first division of the Scottish army, numbering about twenty-five hundred men, landed at Carrickfergus on the 15th of April, 1642. On the 27th of the same month, Monro, leaving six hundred men to garrison Carrickfergus, joined the English forces in the neighbourhood of Belfast, with the intention of marching against the enemy. It will be recollected that, on the eventful 23rd of the preceding October, Con Magennis, heading his own sept and the McCartans, had surprised and taken the town and castle of Newry, putting to death, as was generally the

[a] Press Mark, 12, $\frac{G}{52}$ 9. 11.

custom in the Irish wars of the period, many of the inhabitants in cold blood. As Newry was still in the hands of the rebels, and its possession was of considerable importance in a political as well as a strategetical point of view, Monro and his associates determined that their first enterprise should be the recapture of that place.

The pamphlet, the lengthy title-page of which I have just quoted, is in the form of a letter, from one Roger Pike, who accompanied the allied forces in their march against Newry, and gives a rather minute "relation of the proceedings." Another pamphlet, however, in the same collection,[b] contains Monro's official despatches to General Leslie. Moreover, Major Turner (afterwards Sir James), of Sinclair's Scotch Regiment, served in the expedition, and has left several notices of it in his very interesting *Memoirs*, published, from the original manuscript, at Edinburgh, in 1829. Considering Pike's letter—utterly buried where it is—as worthy of a reprint, I now proceed to give it in full, with occasional extracts referring to the same events from Monro's despatches, and Turner's *Memoirs*.

WILLIAM PINKERTON.

"The Copie of a Letter sent from a Gentleman in Ireland, to his friend, Mr. Tobias Siedgwicke, living in London, June 8, 1642.

SIR,

According to my promise I shall labour briefly to informe you of what hath happened in these Northerne parts of *Ireland* since my coming over; wherein I shall indeavour, not willingly to vary from the truth in the least circumstance, that you may beleeve what I write without doubting, and may report it without blushing.

"On Thursday the 28 of Aprill, 1600 of the Scottish Army, 500 of the Lord Viscount *Conwaye's* Regiment, 500 of Colonell *Chichester's*, 400 of the Lord of the *Arde's* Forces, and 400 of the Lord *Clandeboy's;* 3 Troopes of Armed Horse, the Lord *Conwaye's*, Colonell *Chichester's*, and the Lord *Cromwell's*, and part of the Lord *Grandison's*, together with some 4 or 5 Troopes of light Horse; all these forces met together, and encamped at a place called *Drum-Boe*, neere *Belfast*, in the County of *Antrim;* Sir *John Clatworthy* promised to come with 400 men, but he could not get so many men to make his Regiment compleate, all these Troopes made some 300 Horse.[c]

[b] Press Mark, 601, $\frac{f}{12}$

[c] Monro says:—"In all about 3400 foot in two divisions, viz. Connway, Chichester, Clannebowies, and Ardis, making one division; Sinkler's commanded men, him and I being a thonsand six hnndred, we made np the other division. I marched day about in the van-guard, and gave out the orders night abont, my Lord Conway and I. We had also with us three troops of Dragooners, at fifty a piece, and five troops of horse at forty a piece."

Dragoons were light horsemen, trained to serve either on horse or foot. Monro had also with him fonr small field-pieces, and "a big piece of five-pound bullet," taken off the Castle of Carrickfergus. The artillery were drawn by oxen, the small Irish horses, Monro tells ns, being nseless as "carriage" (dranght) horses. They were nsed however as "baggage" (pack) horses.

"On Friday the 29 of Aprill, this Army marched onwards all together towards the *Nury*, and when they came a little beyond *Lisnegarvey*, they discryed a partie of the Rebels' Horse, which shewed them at the edge of the Woods of *Kilwarlin*, upon which our horse made directly towards them over the fields, the foot marched along the high way; when our Horse came within twiee musket shot of them they made a stand, in the meane time the foote marching along the highway, pereeived a party of the Rebells in a Fort[d] which they had made at the entrance of *Kilwarlin* woods, which it seems they had made, thinking thereby to blocke up the way; this Fort plaid upon our Foote with their Muskets. Colonell *Chichester's* Regiment being then in the front he drew out eertain companies, and made them to give fire by ranks upon the Fort; they remained thus skirmishing until our Horse with much difficultie, in regard of the wayes which were blockt up with Trees, eame into the woods another way, and got betwixt the Fort and the wood; the Rebells seeing the Horse eome behind them fled, our horse being divided into severall parties went severall ways pursuing of them; one party of our Horse, some 40, met with some 400 of them, and fought with them and put them to flight, and killed some 30 of them, the rest of our Horse chased them in the woods as farre as they were able to follow them for Thiekets and Bogs; some of them would attempt to give fire at the Horse standing behind trees and Bushes, but as soone as they offered to make towards them, they durst not stand, but runne away. After the Horse had chased them a pretty while this way, a eompany of the Seottish souldiers eame into them, Lieutenant *Dullen* who is Lieutenant to Colonel *Chichester's* Troopes spake to those Musketeres to follow the Rogues whieh were running in the woods where the troopes eould not follow them; the most of them would not goe, I will not say, durst not, they pretended they wanted powder; but afterwards, before our faees, they shot at least 40 shots at randum in the woods. At this Skirmish there were in all kild and taken prisoners some 80 of the Rebells;[e] wee lost but one man, who was one of Colonel *Hill's* Light Horse-men, and one of the Lord *Cromwell's* Troopes had his horse kild under him, and some two Light Horse-men were slightly wounded; this night the army ineamped in the middle of the woods of *Kilwarlin*, whieh is held to be the plaee of the strongest hold, yet the Rebells had not so mueh Gallantry in them as to give us an Alarum."

[d] The fort of Ennislaughlin, the ruins of which are, or were, a few years past, still visible near Moira.

[e] One of the followers of the Scotch army on this expedition was Livingstone, a Presbyterian minister, who, either in search of plunder, or to gratify an impure curiosity, made a particular inspection of the dead bodies of the Irish slain at the passes of Kilwarlin. For in his *Life* he says: "They were so fat that one might have hid their fingers in the lirks of their breasts." Probably Livingstone, though not much of a natural philosopher, examined the dead to satisfy himself on a much disputed question of the period—namely, whether the wild Irish were furnished with tails! No fewer than forty soldiers of Treton's regiment testified, on their solemn oaths, that among the 700 massacred by Lord Inchiquin at the taking of Cashel, "divers of them had tails near a quarter of a yard long!"

Monro, in his despatch, thus describes the forcing of the passes of Kilwarlin :—

"We marched toward the wood of Kilwarline, where the Enemie lay in one passe with 2,500 men and sixty horse, commanded by my Lord Evack,[f] Mackartane, Sir Con Macginnische, and Sir Rorie Mackginnische, they having cast off one bridge on the Passe, and retired from it to another Passe in the woods. I commanded our horsemen to go about, and to draw up on their flanke in the wood, having way to pass but one horse after another; in the meane time our commanded Muskateers, and foure of oure fielding-pieces were brought over the Passe, and made good one passe till our whole army was set over, and then our canons forced them to give ground till we made open the second passe, being strait,[g] having mosse and bogs on every side; at length our commanded Muskateers charged the front, and the Cavilree on the flankes, till they were forced with losse to retreate in disorder, athwart the woods and bogs on severall hands, in which time our whole army came over the Passe, and then our commanded Muskateers skirmished with them for three miles, in the woods, on both flankes, while the body of the army was making passages free to carry through the Canon and the Horsemen. At night we encamped all horse and foot in one body, the whole night in armes in the midst of the wood. In this skirmish Sir Rorie Mackginnische and Mackartans, two active men, brothers, were killed, with one hundred and fiftie more; with the losse of two men on our side, and foure wounded. About Sir Rorie was found divers letters, which furnished us with intelligence of all their designs in opposing us in that field, and of their intention elsewhere.'

Turner says :—

"In the woods of Kilwarning we rencountered some hundreths of the rebells, who after a short dispute fled. These who were taken got bot bad quarter, being all shot dead. This was too much used by both English and Scots all along in that warre; a thing inhuman and disavouable, for the crueltie of one enemie cannot excuse the inhumanitie of ane other. And heerin also their revenge overmastered their discretion, which should have taught them to save the lives of these they tooke, that the rebells might doe the like to their prisoners."

Pike continues :—

"The next day being Saturday the 30 April, the Army marched on their way to the *Nury*, through *Drommore*, which is so consumed with fire, and ruinated, that there was not a house left standing except the Church. This night we incamped at a place [a typographical error here] eight miles of the *Nury*, called *Logh Brickland:* in the middle of this *Logh* there is an Iland in which were some of the Rebels, with divers English and Scots which were prisoners with them there, and a great deale of provision; there was a house upon this Iland, upon which one of our field peeces played, and we shot at them with Muskets; sometimes they would shoot againe, but hurt none of our

[f] Iveagh. [g] Narrow.

men; there came a Bullet through Colonel *Chichester's* hare as he stood amongst his Souldiers, but hurt him not. All that our army could doe could not make them yeeld, for our shot could not come to hurt them in regard that they had digged a cave under grounde where they did remaine; so as that it was impossible to hurt them with shot, as to shoote downe the Iland. This night there was a strict watch set round about the Iland lest the Rogues should steale away by night: the next morning being Sunday the first of *May*, the Boate which belonged unto the *Logh* being ignorantly left a float by the Rebels by the side of the Iland, it became the onely meanes of their ruine, for six Hilanders undertooke to swim for the boat to fetch it over; whilst they were swimming, our Army playd so hard upon the Iland with Musket shot, that not a Rebel durst peep out of the cave. Of these six Hilanders, two returned not being able to swimme over, two striving beyond their strenght were drowned, and only two got over, who swimming with their swords in their hands cut the Boate loose, and brought it over, which was manned with Musketeres, which took the Iland, releast the prisoners, and cut off the Rebels."

Monro, alluding to this affair, says:—

"Saturday, the last of April, we marched through the woods towards Louchbricklane, where being come on the plaine, our horsemen on the wings killed divers of them retiring, and some taken prisoners were hanged thereafter. And being come late to quartar, we could not ingage that night with the intaking of the Iland, where there lay a wicked Garrison in a fast place environed within a loch, being a refuge in safety, and their boats drawn. Sunday,[h] the first of May, being eight miles from the Newrie, I commanded the Cavilrie and Dragoncers to march for blocking up the Newrie, till our coming; and they being gone, I persued the Iland from the land with Canon and Musket for a time, and finding the roagues despirate, I adventured upon promise of reward six Hielandmen with their armes, pike and sword, to swim under mercy of owr owne Canon, to bring away their Boat, whereof three swimmers died, two retired, and the sixt alone brought away the Boate: being shot through with a fielding piece, she was clampd up with salt hides, and being manned again took in the Ile, the whole sixty therein put to the sword, and our prisoners which they had, released."[i]

Pike proceeds:—

"After this was done, the Army marched on to the *Nury*, the Horse rid fast before, and when they came within sight of the towne they pursued the Rogues flying out of the towne, and running as fast as their nimble feet could carry them away; upon this a troope

[h] Monro's presbyterian soldiers had but a very slight idea of the sanctity of the Sabbath, for by that name they ignorantly and perversely termed Sunday, when deeds of massacre and plunder were to be perpetrated. The English puritans were much the same. One writer in *A True Relation of God's Providence in Ireland*—says, "Some of us were thoughtful about the day being Sabbaoth, to which, and other objections, necessity" (the necessity of massacre!) "and present danger afforded answers."

[i] We see here that the Irish had saved some, at least, of their prisoners, which ought to have been a guarantee for their own lives.

of Light Horse were sent out, which were under the command of Captain *Winsor*, and cut off about 100 of the Rogues as they fled; the rest of the Troopes drew neare unto the towne, and making a stand on a little hill about a quarter of a mile from the towne, one Master *Reading* came riding out of the towne to them, who had been a prisoner with them ever since the beginning of this Rebellion, and hee brought us word that the Rogues were all fled out of the towne, except some of the ancient towne dwellers, and that they willingly yeelded the towne, and that the Castle stood out still, in which were divers prisoners of the English, among the rest Sir *Edward Trevers*, Sir *Charles Poynes* and his sonne came out to meet us, who were taken prisoners at the first surprisall of the *Nury*. Colonell *Chichester's* Troope drew nearer the towne and stood close by the Church, within Musket shot of the Castle until the foote came up, which was for the space of two houres; when the generall Major came, they sent away the Troopes to quarter, halfe a mile out of the towne, and set a striekt centrey at the towne's end that none should come in but those whom he permitted; what was gotten the Horse got no share of, although they best deserved it.[k] The Lord *Maginneses* Lady was now in the *Nury*.

"The next day being Monday, the Generall Major *Mount Roe*, and the Lord *Conway*, and Colonell *Chichester* resolved to come to a parley with the Castle, not that they held it any difficulty to take it, but in regard to those prisoners which they had within the Castle, least if they had fallen upon it in the severest way, the innocent had been destroyed with the guilty. This made the Rogues to stand upon their tearmes, and to refuse many gratious proffers of mercy, and kept them all this day in dispence, refusing to yeeld; the next day being Tuesday the third of *May*, Generall *Mount Roe* sent word unto the Captaine of the Castle, that notwithstanding the prisoners he had of ours with him, if he would not yeeld, since there was no remedy, he would blow up the Castle; the Captaine of the Castle returned him answer, that if he blew him up, we would be forced to borrow some of his powder; this peremptory answer made all to be prepared for to set upon the Castle: at last, when the Captaine of the Castle saw that they were like to goe to it in good earnest, he yeelded upon quarter for himselfe and some more. After this Castle was surrendered, they found but halfe a Barrell of Powder, 60 Muskets, and of them not above a dozen fixt; they had two murtherers which they put out only to make a shew, which were founde without chambers, and so foule and rusty that none of them durst have shot them off; such little proofe is commonly in great bragges when they come to the triall: what other things of worth were found in the Castle were altogether concealed from the English, except some who had great friends."

[k] Inferring that the Scotch had the lion's share of the plunder.

Monro thus describes the surrender of the Castle:—

"Having summoned the Town and Castle to come in to our mercy or no mercy, the Town gave over, the Castle held out, alledging he was able to keepe it seven years. In the meane time we granted a time to the next morning to him to advise; during which time I fully recognished the house and perceived I could take it by pittard or by fire. On Munday, the second of May, prepared our fagots, and made ready our batteries before Tuesday at mid-day, resolving to take it rather by terrour of our Canons then by fire or by pittard, which would make the place unprofitable for us; next if it were taken so, Sir *Edward Travers*, a man of good account, being there a prisoner, had died also by them or with them; so, having all things in readinesse, quainted them againe there was no quarter for them, but he and his Garrison to march forth without Armes, with white sticks in their hands, and he should have a free convoy, and their lives spared. These of the Town should have no other quarter than to come forth in our reverence. And our Prisoners to be safely delivered unto us, which they at once accorded unto; but getting intelligence *Sir Philome* was neere hand for their reliefe, they resolved to delay till the next morning, which being refused, we forced up their outer gate, and were ready to pittard the second, were not for fear of the Prisoners, who cried for mercy; and that the gate should be made up instantly, as was done, and the Castle that night guarded by us, and the Prisoners guarded in the Towne. On Wednesday, the fourth of May, the Captaine was sent away with a Convoy, and the townsmen detained till trial should be made of their behaviours. We entered in examination of the townsmen, if all were Papists; and the indifferent being severed from the bad, whereof 60 with two priests were shot and hanged, the indifferent are banished."
(Turner.)

"The toune came immediatelee into our hands; but the rebells that were in the Castle keepd it two days, and then delivered it up upon a very ill made accord, or a very ill keepd one; for the nixt day most of them with many merchands and tradesmen of the toune, who had not been in the Castle, were carried to the bridge and butcherd to death, some by shooting, some by hanging, and some by drowning, without any legal proecsse; and I was verilie informed afterwards, that severall innocent people sufferd. Monro did not at all excuse himselfe from having accession to that carnage, nor could he purge himself of it; thogh my Lord Conway, as Marshall of Ireland, was the principal actor. Our sojors (who sometimes are cruell, for no other reason bot because man's wicked nature leads him to be so, as I have showne in my *Discourse of Cruelty*[1]) seeing such prankes played by authoritie at the bridge, though they might doe as much any where else and so runne upon a hundreth and fiftie women or thereby, who had got together in a place below the bridge, whom they resolvd to massacre by killing and drounding; which villanie the sea seemd to

[1] Turner was a man of letters, as well as a gallant soldier; and though he had seen some very rough service in the Continental wars, he was disgusted by the horrible scenes he witnessed in Ireland. His Memoirs are most interesting.

favour, it being then flood. Just at that time was I speaking with Monro, bot seeing a fare off what a game these godless rogues intended to play, I got a horseback and gallopd to them with my pistoll in my hand; bot before I got at them they had dispatched about a dozen; the rest I saved."

(Pike:)

"On Munday the fifth of *May* ten out of every Troope were sent to *Dundalke* to the English Army; the next day Sir *Henry Tichborne*, came along with them to the *Nury* with a guard of three Troopes of Horse, and stayed some three hours at the *Nury* and returned.

The common souldiers, without direction from the Generall-Major, took some 18 of the *Irish* women of the towne, and stript them naked, and threw them into the River, and drowned them, shooting some in the water; more had suffered so but that some of the common souldiers were made examples on and punished.

On Thursday the 6 of *May*, the Lord *Conwaye's* Troope, Colonell *Chichester's*, and the Lord *Cromwell's*, with part of the Lord *Grandison's*, went out towards *Armagh;* and by the way they saw about a thousand of the Rebels which stood in a Bogge, but durst not stirre out to incounter with our Troopes, nor the Troopes could not come at them for the Bogge, although they faine would have charged them, therefore they returned backe to the *Nury* thinking to fall upon them the next morning, and bring some foot with them but they heard the next day that they were fled, and that Sir *Phelim O'Neale* was among them. Some of the prisoners that made an escape from them, reported that Armagh is burnt, and that the Rogues are fled from thence towards *Chalimount.*

On Friday, being the sixt of *May*, those of the Rebells that were in the Castle which had not Quarter, and divers of the ill-affected *Irish* in the towne, were shot to death on the bridge, some three score or more; there was a great Iron Battering-peece taken in the *Nury* which was left on an old Turret in the towne, throwne off the Carriages, which I forgot to name before.

On Saturday, the seventh of *May*, they provided to march back again, leaving behinde in Garrison at the *Nury* about 300 men well armed, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonell *Sinkclcare*, promising to send him some 500 more from *Carrickfergus*, with all the speede possibly could be made, being some of the rest of Lieuetenant Collonell *Sinkcleare's* Regiment, which came over since the Army went abroad; Generall Major *Mount Roe* left private direction (as I heard) with Lieutenant Collonell *Sinkcleare* to banish all the *Irish* out of the towne, as soone as he was gone.

The Army marched home through *Maginesces'* and *Mc Carton's* Country, and marched in three divisions, burning all the houses and corne before them, and brought away the

spoyle of the countrey before them, and cattle in great abundance, there was much goods left behind, and provision which they could neither destroy nor carry away, being hid underground in the backside of every house; the devision that Collonell *Chichester* commanded, burnt *McCarton's* and *Ever Maginese's* owne dwelling houses. Sunday at night was such stormy wether, that some thirtie of the souldiers and others which followed campe perished with meere cold; and no wonder, for it kild some fifteene horses, which were found dead the next morning: Colonell *Chichester's* troope marching a pretty space before the Army, tooke divers prisoners, and killed divers of the Rebells upon their March."

(Turner:)

"I do remember that there we suffered one of the most stormy and tempestuous nights for hail, rain, cold, and excessive wind, though it was the beginning of May, that ever I yet saw. All the tents were in a trice blown over. It was not possible for any match to keep fire, or any soldier to handle his musket, or yet stand; yea, severalls of them died that night of mere cold. So that if the Rebels, whereof there were five hundred not far from us, had offered to beat up our quarters with such weapons as they had, which were half-pikes, swords, and daggers which they call skeens, they would undoubtedly have had a cheap market of us. Our sojors, and some of our officers too (who suppose that nothing that is more than ordinarie can be the product of nature) attributed this hurrikane to the devilish skill of some Irish witches; and if that was true, then am I sure their master gave us a good proofe that he was reallie Prince of the aire."

(Pike:) "On Tuesday, the 10 of May, the Army met together and incamped in the middle of *McCarton's* woods; when they came all together, there were at least 800 baggage horses (as they call them) loaded with the spoile of the countrey, and I thinke I speake within compasse if I say 3,000 cowes; but, by the way, as they came this day through the thickets of *McCarton's* wood, the Lord *Conwaye's* troope, Colonell *Hill's*, and Captaine *Matthewe's*, and some other troopes of Light Horse, the Rogues shot at them from behinde trees, and killed the Lievetenant to the Lord *Conwaye's* troope, Lievetenant *Fisher's* led-horse, and him that led him, and got in betwixt the troopes and the baggage horses, and cut off some of the men that went along with these horses, and had cut off more but that Captain *Trevers* rid backe againe with some of his troope, and relieved them.

"On Wednesday, the Army marched through the rest of *McCarton's* woods, with all the aforesaid loadon, horses, and cowes, marching all together, but spreading the foot broad in the woods, to burn the cabbins which were built there, and to clear the woods before them: They found no opposition this day, at night they encamped at Drumboe."

(Monro:)

"I resolved to return with the Army, marching through my Lord Evacke's countrey, Machartan, and Slowtneils, being only the considerable enemy in the Countrey of Down. And in

our march, I resolved myself with 800 Musketeers to put them from their strengths, in the Mountaines of Mourne, and to rob them of their cattell, which we did. I marching through the Mountaines on the right hand, and the Army, Horse, and Foot, and Artillary marching through the valley on the left hand, where we joined together, on Sunday, the eight, at night, foure miles from the Passe of Dundrum, bordering betwixt my Lord Evacke's land and Mackartan's. Munday, the ninth, we divided the Army in three, Colonel Home with 500 commanded Musketeers, two troops of Dragoneers, and one troop of Horse; to Connoway the Artillery, cattell, and baggage, the safest way towards Mackartane's own house; the rest of the Horse, Lieutenant-Colonell Montgomrie, and 200 commanded Muskateers, were sent about the Mountaines to run through betwixt Kilwarning woods and Killernie woods to the randevous, the next day, at Mackartane's house; and hearing Mackartane with his forces and cattell were lying in one strait in the woods of Killernie, I marched thither myselfe with the body of the foot and colours, and having quartered on Monday, at night, within three miles of the enemy, came upon them the next morning unawares, without sound of drum, so they were scattered. And having commanded further three bodies of Muskateers to several parts, appointing one randevow for all, we brought together to our quarters at night above foure thousand cattell, and joined all together at night at Mackartane's house; and divers were killed of the Rebels, being scattered on all hands; and one strong body of them on one passe in the woods fore gathered with the horsemen and Lieutenant-Collonel Montgomrie, where the foot behooved to guard the house, they being unskilfull in their leding, having lost foure horses and five men. Wednesday, the eleventh, hearing the enemy was resolved to fight with us in the wood, we marched with our Artillary and commanded men into the Van Guard, our two divisions marching after with commanded men in the flanks; we were forced to make severall stops to cleere the passages they had stopped in the woods to keep us up; our cattell marched next to the army, being guarded with Pikemen and Muskateers on all quarters; our baggage next to them; our horsemen and dragooners in the rear of all. The Rebells being drawne up on the hills, perceiving our order of march, durst not ingage with us; so, coming free off, we quartered at night in Drumbo."

(Pike:) "The next day, when the cowes were to be divided, many of them were stollen away into the Ardes and Clandeboys the last night, and the goods so sneakt away by the Scots that the *English* troopes got just nothing, and the English foote very little, which gave them too just a cause to mutany, in so much as I think it will be hard to get them out to march with the Scots againe, who will have both the credit and profit of whatsoever is done or had."

(Monro:)

"The next morning, divided our cattell, such as remained unstolen by the horsemen and plunderers, being an infinite number of poor contemptible countrymen, which could not be reduced to order."

Those "contemptible countrymen, who could not be reduced to order," were the native Irish camp-followers, who, making themselves useful as spies, drivers of cattle, leaders of baggage-horses, &c., used to follow the English as well as the Irish armies, and added to the horrors of war by plundering and murdering, without distinction of age or sex, the weak, wounded, and vanquished, whether of the British race or those of their own country, language, and religion. A good description of these wretches is found in "A true relation of God's Providence in Ireland," written by an officer, who served in the Parliamentary army, commanded by Lord Brooke in the South of Ireland. He says:—"There is a company of people that attend every army and force that march out, they call Pillagers, who, though not soldiers, yet, with some light armes, they follow the camp on horse and foot; and whilst the soldier must keep his order, they run into the houses, lade their horses with what they can get, drive away the cattell, and wholly discourage the soldiers. These spare neither woman nor child, as we saw before our eyes, which saddened some hearts; of these we had an hundred attending us. Our Lieutenant-General made an order for these that they should ride under the command of a Captain; but these Pillagers would know no command but of their own advantages, and, though pressed with many arguments, scattered at pleasure, stript the slain, and made havock of all."

Pike thus concludes:—

> "In the absence of the Army there were six score Musketeres left to Garrison at *Malone*, which was set upon by the Irish, and the most of it burnt; these valiant Scots, set to keep the towne, when it was set upon, fled, and did not so much as face the Rebells; some 800 of the Scots which lay in the Trench some sixe mile of *Carrickfergus*, in the absence of the aforesaid Army, went out to plunder, and being set upon by some horse and foote of the Rebells not much above their number, I will not say fled from them, but retreated so fast, as that they were forced to blow up a barrell of powder they had with them, and blew up some eight of their men with it, and as I heare credibly, lost above a hundred Armes; they carry the matter very privately here, but this is truth. The Earle of *Antrem* is now at Glenarme, a place twelve miles off *Carrickfergus*, and would faine be received into this towne; what Generall *Mount Roe* and the Lord *Conway* will do in it, I know not; Generall *Lasly* will be over here within this weeke, as he hath sent word unto Generall Major *Mount Roe*. I have no more to write, but desire to remaine,
>
> Your Humble servant to Command,
>
> Roger Pike."

Carrick-fergus, this 30 of May, 1642.

HISTORICAL ARGUMENT ON THE ORIGIN OF THE IRISH GOLD ANTIQUITIES.

To the Editor of the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*.

Sir,—As I have been asked many questions by persons who have read my communication, in the last number of your *Journal*, on the Gold Antiquities found in Ireland, I find it will save much time and explanation if you will permit me to make some additional remarks on the same subject.

In the article alluded to, I have not only given *all* the different statements made by certain visitors to the Museum, but have indicated such circumstances as will enable each individual to recognise my report of his or her remarks, and so estimate its correctness. I had no desire to withhold the names of the parties who mentioned to me the various facts embodied in that paper; on the contrary, I would gladly have recorded them distinctly along with their several statements, if I had had authority to do so, or if it had been understood that observations, made in the course of conversation, might be published in connection with the names of private individuals.

I must also add, in justice to myself, that I have held back no remarks of visitors on this subject which would have had an opposite tendency; so that, even if the statements I have published be estimated as of little importance separately, it must be admitted that, taken as a whole, they indicate a tendency in the current of evidence, derived from the most varied sources, which must produce on the mind an effect nearly approaching to that of direct proof. In the ordinary affairs of life, we are often led, by a similar accumulation of circumstantial evidence, to adopt decided opinions for which, if interrogated, we are unable to assign any reasons of a more positive kind.

At the same time, in the case now before us, I altogether abstain from adopting an opinion on either side of the question, Whether the gold antiquities found in Ireland are or are not Jewish? on the kind of evidence brought together in my former paper; but I consider myself bound to investigate the truth of the theory which seems to arise from that evidence. I think it desirable to search for facts which may confirm, amend, or disprove it; and thus assist in ascertaining the true cause of the existence of such enormous quantities of ancient manufactured gold as are found in this country.

As I have not been able, after some research, to meet with any one fact which rebuts the hypothesis of a Jewish origin for these antiquities, my object now shall be to show its reasonableness; although for so far founded on evidence of rather a slender kind, to which indeed the term "gossip" has been rather appropriately applied by a friend of mine, whose *amor patriæ*, I am grieved to say, has been much mortified by the theory in question.

The first great fact relating to our argument which must always be kept in view is, that Ireland, considered as a mining region, offers no evidence of its ever having supplied native gold in any large quantity. We are aware, of course, that the mountainous district of Wicklow has, from time to time, produced small quantities of that metal, but never sufficient to repay the labour of looking for it, although labour has always been notoriously cheap in Ireland. Other parts of Ireland have produced very little; and none in modern times. It is, therefore, impossible for even the most exaggerated *amor patriæ* to believe that this country itself supplied the material for manufacturing the very large amount of gold articles which are known to have been found in her soil.[a] We are consequently forced to infer, whether we like it or not, that this gold, or a vast portion of it, must have been brought to Ireland from some other country.

Irish legendary history would, to some extent, warrant the inference that the *Tuatha de Danaan* (whoever they were) had the art of discovering gold by some method of their own; tradition says, by the taste of river-water. Now, assuming that this story had some foundation in fact, we can hardly extract more from it than this—that, according to old tradition, these people, on their coming to Ireland, brought with them a knowledge of mining which was not possessed by the native inhabitants.[b] They may have been the first to discover the gold produced among the Wicklow mountains, &c., but this must have formed a very small part indeed of the ancient supply.

The great question, therefore, presents itself, where did the chief part of the gold come from, whether in a raw or manufactured state, which is found in Ireland? I have never heard of any specimen of native gold having been discovered beyond the limits of the district already mentioned; and, although I have seen sixteen ingots of gold, varying in value from £1 sterling up to £300 each, it was the opinion of the gold-dealers, when buying them from the finders, that these were the produce of manufactured articles melted down for portability, or to prevent the risk of their being claimed by land-owners as "treasure trove." One lot of these great ingots, consisting of

[a] I have reason to believe that the estimate recently made of the actual amount of "treasure trove" discovered in Ireland, in the shape of gold, is very much below the truth, if we commence with the introduction of potato-culture in this country. This crop has been the precursor of all others in ground previously untilled: there chiefly the gold antiquities are found; and it is certain that continual discoveries of them have been made in breaking up the virgin soil for potato-cultivation ever since the first introduction of the plant, but of which no record has been kept. This has been going on, therefore, for 200 years, and it would be hard to estimate the quantity of gold which has been discovered and melted down during that period.

I have said that gold articles are found *chiefly* in virgin or unbroken soil; but there are exceptional cases where the spot has been indicated by a heap of stones, a cromlech, a rock, or some other prominent object which may have served to mark the hiding-place. I would assume, in such cases, that the gold articles there found are later in point of time than the monuments near them; at all events, it by no means follows that because they are found near them they must belong to the same people who erected those monuments.

[b] It must not be inferred that I recognise the legend of the Tuatha de Danaan as an historical fact, although there may be some truth in it. Like several other traditional tales which occur in our Irish legendary histories, it seems to me to be a remnant of biblical or Jewish tradition; and may refer to the wandering companies of the *Dodanim*, who were perhaps the gold-seekers in different countries.

seven, was sold in Dublin a few years ago, and had quite the appearance of being manufactured gold, hastily melted down; and, among the large quantity of gold articles found together in the County Clare, there were several ingots, one of them retaining distinct traces of the form of the object melted, proving that the fusion had been effected in an open fire, in the way adopted by Benvenuto Cellini when he melted down the old church-plate in Rome. These ingots, therefore, afford no evidence of the gold being native, but rather the contrary.[c]

If we next inquire from what quarter the metal was most likely to have been introduced into Ireland, the most probable answer which presents itself is Spain; not only as being the nearest country where gold existed in abundance, but because Spain, according to both tradition and historic evidence, had formerly intercourse with Ireland. Now it is worthy of note, as bearing on our argument, that Josephus, in his famous speech to the Jews on the walls of Jerusalem, during the siege, reminded them that gold formerly "grew in Spain;" meaning thereby that it was from that place their traders in his time procured their supplies of the metal, though a part of it may have found its way through Spain from Africa. Our argument rests in some measure on the inference that the traders in gold, at a certain period, were of Jewish race, and that by them it was converted into the forms in which we discover it in Ireland.[d] It is highly probable that Spain was the head-quarters of this trade; but that, from various causes, large quantities of the metal were accumulated in Jerusalem, from whence it was finally scattered and diffused by the events of the siege; a quantity of it, in Jewish forms, finding its way along with refugees even to distant Ireland.

It may be mentioned, in passing, that it is by no means unlikely that when the Jews in Britain, Gaul, Spain, and other Roman provinces, subsequently obtained the rights of citizenship, most of the exiles in Ireland left this country in order to join their brethren elsewhere. But in the interval a number of them may have died here; and their graves would probably have the same characteristic emblems as have been employed for them in several Jewish communities, in Barbary—namely, a stone trough and rubbing-stone;[e] the signification of which is not very

[c] The fact that these ingots were of gold containing a slight alloy of silver, is against the probability of their having been church-plate; but in favour of their being objects of the pre-Christian period which had been melted down.

[d] If we may consider the antiquities lately discovered in Switzerland (described in the last number of this Journal) as true Celtic remains, because found near a locality stated to be Celtic by Herodotus, we are in a measure forced to reject any claim of the Celts to the gold antiquities found in Ireland, or at least suspend our opinion till gold things like ours are found in Switzerland.

[e] There is indeed no ancient Jewish burial-ground in Ireland that I know of; but it does not appear that any distinction was anciently made in the interment of foreigners and natives. I am led to believe, by reasons into which I do not propose to enter here, that the artificers in gold in this country were all Jewish or of Jewish extraction. The Irish Milesians were hereditary soldiers, not craftsmen. Yet it is quite clear that the smiths or artificers in gold, iron, and horn, who had their workshops in the crannogs at Strokestown, Ballinderry, and Dunshaughlin, must have been considered by the people of the mainland in the same light with the carpenters, &c., called *Agots* in France and Spain. The enormous number of cows' heads found in

apparent, but which may have been intended to typify the fallen state and consequent poverty of their nation.[f]

In Murray's *Hand-book of Spain* (p. 415), we find some curious information concerning the ancient productiveness of Spain in the precious metals; but this testimony proves too much for our special case, as it rather shows the gold production to have been only an adjunct to that of *silver*, by proving that the quantity of the latter metal drawn from the Spanish mines was enormously greater than that of the former: a proportion agreeing with what is recorded of the relative abundance of the two metals in Jerusalem in the time of David and Solomon,[g] but which was not the case in the time of the Roman general, Titus. During his siege, gold alone, and apparently manufactured gold, is mentioned as the article of value in Jerusalem, as appears from at least twenty different passages in Josephus, alluding to treasure accumulated in that city. The Jews previously seem to have made a regular practice of transmitting this metal from all quarters to their own metropolis.[h] We read in Cicero [*Pro Flacco*, c. 28]:—"Next comes that odium concerning the Jewish gold [not *silver* and gold]. . . . . You know, Lælius, what a company of them [the Jews] there is [in Rome], how they pull together, and how powerful [by their votes and influence] they are at public meetings. And whereas it was customary for gold to be exported [by them] yearly, in the name of Jews, out of Italy and all the provinces [of the Roman Empire] to Jerusalem, Flaccus by edict prohibited it from being carried out of [the Roman provinces in] Asia [to that city]."[i]

these places, points to the old usage of the Jews cursing or concentrating the ill luck on the head killed, and probably, as believed by the Egyptians, transferring that ill luck to the Greek, or alien, who would accept the head and take it away with him. For several reasons, so far as Ireland is considered, the discoveries of these remains point to Africans, or Gypsies perhaps, as the late iron and goldsmiths in Ireland.

The existence of African ironsmiths in Ireland is made probable, by the identity of the typical forms and the old material of iron articles found here. The Irish tradition of the conquests of Ireland by Africans, may have grown out of some movement of the African artificers. We want a good paper on the O'Gowan or Smith, and the superstitions connected with the crafts known as Smiths.

[f] There are several of these in the Academy's Museum, and it is to be hoped that it may soon contain a specimen of the same kind from Algiers, where they are common and are always used to indicate Jewish graves. For this purpose, and this only, are they manufactured. I am indebted, for this curious information, to a French gentleman who visited the Museum, and who is thoroughly conversant with the usages of Barbary and Spain.

[g] Modern authors generally have attributed to the Carthaginians the whole of the trade in metals carried on in Spain, Britain, &c.; nevertheless, following the traditions of Cornwall that the ancient mines there are Jewish, as explained to me by all our Cornish visitors, I am disposed to consider the Carthaginians as having only continued a trade originally established by Jews, and that Jews, as Roman citizens, &c., retained it: and that, although Carthage did actually become a great centre of the trade in metals, this commerce remained in the hands of Jewish capitalists; in fact that Carthage may be considered as having been more a Jewish than a Phœnician city.

[h] If we reflect on the most likely cause of the fall and destruction of this city, we cannot but believe that it was its enormous wealth which influenced the minds of the rapacious Romans. It was like the robber plundering the thief—"the bull-dog taking the bone out of the fox's den." [*Matthew* xxi. 13, &c.]

[i] The words in brackets are introduced to complete the sense.

The practice here mentioned by Cicero (judging by the facts recorded by Josephus) continued to exist till the time of Titus; and both Cicero and Josephus consider it most meritorious in Pompey, that, when he took Jerusalem, he would permit no pillage, though it was teeming with gold. When the evil day came, the plunderers thirsted for nothing but gold. Silver was not valued; and there is hardly a notice in Josephus of silver as an object of importance either to victors or vanquished. The refugees from the fated city, therefore, carried away gold, not silver. Some of them are even described as *swallowing* it; and it is stated that thousands of them were actually ripped up by the conquerors, that they might extract it from their entrails!

Although the number of persons who lost their lives in this cruel manner must have been considerable, it was small in comparison with that of the fugitives who escaped from the city with treasure. According to Josephus, the Israelites who were assembled in Jerusalem for the approaching Passover, from various parts of the world, amounted to about 2,500,000. His statements would lead us to conclude that a large proportion of these were killed or sold into captivity; but other evidence, apparently more trustworthy, limits the number of the slain, &c., to 700,000. Or, if we assume the actual number destroyed to be a million, and deduct for exaggeration another million from Josephus's estimate of the assembled population, we shall still have remaining 500,000, or thereabouts, as the number who may have escaped.[k] Of these, the only portion that concern our argument were those who effected their escape by sea. The vessels employed, besides Jewish, may have belonged to Spain or Tarshish; and many of them, no doubt, were those of Mediterranean and other pirates and slave-dealers, whose head-quarters, beyond the Pillars of Hercules, may very possibly have been Ireland, owing to its convenient geographical position.[l] A considerable proportion of these free-booters may have been Carians and Cretans, who, we know, had been expelled a few years before from Crete by the Romans, under Metellus, on account of their piratical practices. Their expeditions were very probably in reality Jewish, at least so far as the capital employed in them was concerned;[m] for, in the time of the Apostles, the Cretans and the people of Jerusalem were in close connexion with each other.[n] There is reason to believe, that the amount of shipping on the

[k] I venture to form no estimate of the actual number of the refugees who may have found their way, for a season, to Ireland, or of the quantity of gold they may have brought with them. Many must have fled before the city was invested; and many took advantage of the repulses of the Romans, and of other chances which offered themselves, to make their escape to the coast with such portable property as they could carry off with them.

[l] The Greek navigators were certainly acquainted with Irish ships, or ships frequenting Irish ports. From the circumstances of the times, these *must* have been pirates as well as merchant-ships; and they may have plundered many of the refugee Jews, and so helped to increase the heaps of Jewish gold carried to Ireland.

[m] In the same way, the Jewish capitalists, in our own time, supplied much of the money employed in fitting out the Barbary corsairs, and in carrying on the trade in Christian slaves which grew out of their expeditions. The corsairs, like other professional robbers, were merely the tools of those who received the stolen goods.

[n] This is evident from notices of the Cretans in both the New and Old Testament. If they were Cherithetes, and the body-guard of King David and the nominee of Solomon, it is no wonder that they should have been great

coast of Syria at this period must have been very considerable, as it has been indeed ever since the time of the Phœnicians, whose successors in the trade with Spain and Africa the Jews became.

The great wealth and extensive commerce of the Jews must have commanded the services of large numbers of such vessels, and facilitated the escape of the exiles in the time of their need. The account given by Josephus [*Wars*, ii. 15] of the rebuilding of Joppa, after being destroyed by Cestius, proves how strong the nautical spirit was along the coast of Syria,[o] and how totally it was overlooked by the Roman authorities, who appear to have had no shipping at their disposal to counteract it; thus leaving quite open a means of escape beyond the limits of the empire, throughout which, at this time, Josephus says the Jews "were hated everywhere." This author notices the destruction of the shipping at Joppa by a storm, and the washing ashore of 4,200 bodies, because these circumstances fell in with the scope of his narrative; but if no storm had taken place, and the ships had got safely off with their cargoes, he would have said nothing about them; and although he tells us nothing about *other* shipping, it is abundantly probable that the people of Joppa had only been attempting what had been accomplished elsewhere successfully. In other words, his account of the catastrophe there suggests a strong probability that fugitives at this time were crowding to the coast of Palestine and escaping by sea, passing, no doubt, down the Mediterranean, and beyond the limits of Roman power, and finding a refuge in such countries as Western Africa and Ireland. It is to be presumed that all of these exiles carried off whatever portable treasure they could secure.

After the fall of Jerusalem, Josephus states that the value of gold in exchange fell "one half;"[p] and this is quite intelligible, if we read his accounts of the vast quantities of it taken from the Jews by the Roman general Florus; who, besides other robberies, on two occasions carried off fifty-seven talents of gold; yet he was only one of a legion of plunderers. After the war was over, we are told by the same Jewish historian that the Emperor, having personally thanked his soldiers for their services, "crowned them with crowns of gold[q] and put chains [torques?] of gold

braggarts, as they are described to have been. If we could place any dependence on the Irish accounts of the Milesian migrations, their alleged visit to Crete might be taken in connection with the expulsion of the pirates by the Romans from that island, and with the events we have under consideration; and the whole would furnish an argument that the maritime element of the ancient Irish population was partly Greek and not Celtic.

[o] Pirates, or ships at war with Rome which were so called, seem to have abounded in the Mediterranean; yet the Jews were able to send their gold to Jerusalem from Spain and Rome. Their money commanded the sea before the fall of their city.

[p] The remark in his text appears to apply to Syria only; but this is evidently a mistake, if he limits its application to that country, for if gold became cheap in Syria, it soon became very cheap indeed in Rome, where (as mentioned by Cicero), *none* of it had been left by the Jews.

[q] All these were portions of the plunder of the city, and objects typical of Jewish defeat. The crowns of Jewish bridegrooms worn by Roman soldiers! No wonder that the Jews now repudiate their own property, after having passed into the hands of the spoiler.

about their necks, and gave them spears pointed with gold,[r] and medals of silver[s] (?). He also presented every one of them with gold and silver money,[t] neck-ornaments, and other things of value, which were part of the booty." And even after all this, we read that enormous quantities of gold were found in the ruins of the city, where it had been hidden or lost by the besieged.

Taking all the circumstances of this period into account, we are led to consider the fall of Jerusalem—the "treasure city" of the world—as the great event which led to the accumulation of Jewish gold in this country, situated as it was just outside the limits of the Roman Empire; and, consequently, as we have shown, the probability that the deposits of gold found in Ireland may be dated from the fall of the city. If we could only discover a few Roman copper medals of the siege, along with our gold antiquities, some antiquaries would consider our theory as proved. But this could not be expected; first, because the exodus must have taken place before these medals were struck; and, secondly, because even if they had been, the exiles would certainly have not carried off with them any such tokens of their degradation.[u] But, though we find in Ireland no Roman medals which might help to fix a date for our gold antiques, we do find a class of objects which may have some value for this purpose. These are the thin gold disks bearing crosses upon them, and which are, beyond a doubt, very early Christian emblems. They are made of the same kind of straw-coloured gold as the crescents and frontlets, and are burnished or finished on the exterior surface by a process which is peculiar to all classes of the gold objects; while, on the interior surface, they have a dull finish, without lustre, effected by some process also unknown to modern goldsmiths, and such as we might suppose to be produced by some kind of acid or other solvent applied to the surface of the metal. The patterns of these gold disks (some of which have been figured in this *Journal*, (vol. iv., p. 164), seem to be of the same type as those sculptured on our oldest Irish monumental crosses, being composed of a circle inclosing a cross. These gold ornaments may probably belong to a period as early as the reign of Nero, if not still earlier. They have the appearance of being badges or tokens indicating the religious profession of the wearer;[v] perhaps adopted in contradistinction to

[r] We have notices of "golden spears" and "golden yellow spears" in the old Irish MSS. The former, if I am correctly informed, are only a poetic myth, the latter have recently been found. The discovery of golden spears in Ireland as part of the plunder of Jerusalem would help our case. Titus, no doubt, found the gold spear-heads he gave his men.

[s] These were more probably of copper, of which many specimens are still extant, bearing the image of the "Daughter of Zion," seated on the ground, humiliated, and stripped of her ornaments.

[t] This may have been some of the treasure used by the "money-changers" or bankers, whose business was to exchange one sort of coin for another. Their treasury was the Temple. Such treasure became the plunder of the Romans; but fugitives leaving the city would take only gold with them, as being more valuable and portable.

[u] It may be a question worth considering, whether the copper medals, sometimes found in Ireland, bearing the head of Jesus or Moses, with an inscription in Hebrew letters, are of a date antecedent to the fall of Jerusalem, which is alluded to in the inscriptions as still existing. If any such medals should be found along with antique gold articles, the fact would be strongly corroborative of our theory.

[v] They are evidently the prototypes of our "Saint Patrick's crosses."

the crescent-shaped ornaments (also made of thin gold), which have since then (or their equivalents) somehow become the symbols of Mohammedanism. The round tire like the moon, even so early as the time of Isaiah, had become a Jewish emblem; why it was assumed by the founder of Mohammedanism and his followers is not clear.

If these gold disks, with the circle and cross on them, belonged to the earliest ages of Christianity, they were then, no doubt, to the pilgrim what the crucifix became in more modern times—the emblem of his profession,—and perhaps a charm or protection against the Evil One. The same symbol would be carved on the monumental stone, to imply that the deceased had lived and died bearing this sacred badge, which may itself have been buried with him; as such articles have, in fact, occasionally been found in couples in certain Christian cemeteries in Ireland. The different patterns exhibited on our stone crosses, belonging to different periods, may indicate certain changes which had taken place in the opinions of the people as to the meaning attached to the figure of the Cross, with or without a circle.

Taken in connection with the gold objects of the lunette and horse-shoe types, these Christian golden disk-crosses may give us an approximate date for all our gold antiquities, and that date sufficiently near to the reign of Nero to make the chronology of our argument rational in itself, and consistent with the history of the world: for history, so far as I am acquainted with it, offers but *one* category of circumstances which will supply us with a plausible theory regarding the age of the gold antiquities found in Ireland, a country lying on the borders of the Roman world, and at the time offering itself as a temporary refuge for the exiles of Jerusalem.

For so far, I have endeavoured to show the reasonableness of our theory from its conformity with historic facts which are of unquestioned authority. I proceed to bring forward another argument of a different kind in its favour, which, I believe, has not yet been made use of for elucidating the origin or age of our gold antiquities. For the fact itself, I am indebted to one of our most distinguished Irish scholars. One of the enactments in the *ancient Brehon Laws* provides, that every goldsmith in Ireland, when he had finished a piece of work, should put his *name* or *mark* upon it, in order to identify it, so that every workman might be held accountable for the quality or weight of the article manufactured. Now it is perfectly true that the names of the makers are found on crosses, reliquaries, bell-shrines, pastoral staves, &c., made of gold and other metals conjoined. These articles are *all* connected with the ceremonies or usages of the Christian religion; though there is little doubt that one use made of them was to avert evil. In most cases, the maker's name is accompanied with the formula—"A prayer for" some person or persons—such as the maker, the designer, or the individual who caused the article to be made. The recording of the maker's name on all such objects made in Ireland may be a continuation of the custom established by the old Brehon Law; but when we come to examine the class of old gold antiquities, we find the case very different. Out of the hundreds which I have had the opportunity of examining,

no matter how massive or how elaborately manufactured, I have never discovered on one of them, even with powerful magnifiers, a maker's name, or cypher, or anything which could be considered to be a letter.[w] The only exception was the gold-cupped bangle figured in Vallancey's *Collectanea*, on which an inscription, said by Vallancey to be in "Estrangulo" characters, was faintly observable; but this I assisted in proving to be a cheat, and to have been originally scratched on the gold by a goose-quill pen, so as to leave marks not visible to the naked eye.

The practice of the Irish shrine-makers, coupled with the provision quoted from the Brehon Laws, and contrasted with the facts above stated, clearly remove our entire class of gold antiquities from the category of Irish manufactures produced within the period of the native laws. They must, therefore, either be older than the Brehon Laws, or be foreign manufactures introduced into this country since their adoption.

Our argument has carried us backwards, step by step, to the most probable era of their introduction. We have traced, in its various modifications, on our stone crosses, a peculiar emblem which appears on our ancient gold disks; these latter connect themselves in style, workmanship, and material, with the lunettes; and these again with other gold objects of unquestionable foreign form, which we have shown reasons for assigning to the era of the infancy of Christianity and the fall of Jerusalem, when a sort of golden volcano discharged its treasures over the western world. The *débris* of this convulsion have long since disappeared throughout the territories of the old Roman Empire, where the plundered treasures of the Jews, the crowns and torques of the soldiers, have all passed into new forms and fashions during the last two thousand years. In Ireland alone, which remained undisturbed by the crash of the Roman power and the struggling of new nations into birth, do we now find in considerable quantity the golden manufactures of that era; while occasional specimens are met with in other countries in the hands of Jews or their descendants.

Hitherto all our argument has been speculative. If, however, by dredging in the harbour of Joppa, or in the Lake of Genesereth (where much treasure of the period was lost, according to Josephus), or by exploring in the excavations now in progress at Jerusalem, there should be discovered objects like our Irish gold antiquities, the question would at once be settled. I abide the result with much interest.

There are several other collateral matters which I might introduce to develop and complete my argument; but I have already occupied so much of your valuable space that I must hold these in reserve, to be used in the event of our theory being attacked. This I very much desire, as my

[w] I have been constantly on the look out for inscriptions or makers' names or ciphers impressed on metallic antiquities found in Ireland, but have never detected one except in the case of the "Kilkenny Brooch." This absence of names, marks &c., is in itself a characteristic of the gold antiquities, and to some extent distinguishes them from the silver and white metal antiquities, which, by their patterns may be traced to different peoples who made a figure in Spain after the fall of Jerusalem.

chief object has been to open a new field for discussion, and to draw the attention of antiquaries to the obscure question of our Irish gold antiquities, as being one not merely of local but of general archæological importance. I cannot, however, close this letter without putting forward, problematically, a claim which the Jews may make on the Milesians themselves in Ireland, if their descendants admit the argument of this essay to be true, and if they, at the same time, claim the gold antiquities found in Ireland to be Milesian. This is a sort of dilemma which, no doubt, may be got over by at once admitting that Heber and Heremon were Hebrews of the tribe of Benjamin, which was always most famous for its military or "Milesian" spirit. At the siege of Jerusalem they fought against all odds, under the bidding of their scribes and priests, who were of the tribes of Simeon and Levi. These latter, from their peaceable professions, may have found it easy to make terms with the Roman general; but the others, who were hereditary soldiers, *i.e.* Milesians, and (as their name "Benjamin" implied) "sons of the right hand," were beyond all grace, and forced by circumstances either to give up their military profession altogether, and deny their individuality, or remain aliens to Roman law and mercy, which it really appears many of them did, in Africa, and also in Ireland, where at first, and afterwards in Scotland and England, they waged an hereditary war of extermination against the Romans.

I would be disposed to trace the Ulster military Order of the Knights of the Red (right) Hand, not to the tradition given in Keating, which is self-contradictory and absurd, but to the fact that a bloody or *red right hand* was the banner orstandard of the tribe of Benjamin; and which the Moors had, under similar Benjaminite influences, adopted on the key-stone of the Alhambra, &c., as the emblem of war for ever, in their ease against Rome or Christian chivalry, which the Mohammedans considered to be continuation of that Rome which had destroyed the old Holy City. In a religious, anti-Roman spirit, the invading Moors and Arabs, and the Jews of Spain all perfectly agreed. This is clear from the usage of the invaders, in handing over all the reduced cities to garrisons of Jews at the several places; as if the invaders at first were mere allies, who had been invited over to Spain to help the Jews to take possession of the country, and eject the representatives of Rome. But the invaders finding themselves very much stronger than the Jews, availed themselves of their position, and soon took the government of the country, and the towns also, into their own hands. Thus was effected the, so-called, Moorish conquest of Spain.

Nothing of this kind, that we know of, took place in our country. There was no Roman power to oppose, nor any representative of it either; yet there is enough to prove that a most intimate intercourse existed between the military classes of Spain and of Ireland; and that, down to a very recent period, the Spaniards and the Milesian Irish looked on each other as brothers. Christian influences in both countries have modified and ignored ancient Benjaminite traditions, which belonged to the tribe of the Right Hand, who were not literary and had no books.[x] Though great soldiers, and no

[x] To the tribe of Benjamin the books of the Old Testament were of little interest, as they gave neither rank or position to that tribe; and with the fall of their city (which Jerusalem had become, on the decadence of the tribe of

doubt always ready to fight for their scribes and priests, yet if we may judge by the Affghans, who are to a great extent of the tribe of Benjamin also, and first class soldiers, they all somehow soon ceased to be orthodox Jews. The Affghans are said to be now most bigotted Mohammedans, though they acknowledge their Ismaelite descent; while the Milesian Irish claim to be the most thorough Christians, ready to fight in defence of that religion which their traditions attribute to St. Patrick; an individual, who (as I have been informed by a most competent authority who has paid great attention to the various Lives of our patron Saint) was himself a convert from Judaism, and as such may have entertained a great sympathy for the fraction of the lost tribe of Benjamin in Ulster, with whom he had there spent a portion of his captivity in early life, and where he may have satisfied himself that an intense but undeveloped religious feeling existed.

Though the religion of the Milesians in Affghanistan and Ireland may have changed, the hereditary religious sentiments and bravery of both still continue, and the Milesian of old is still well represented by the Milesian of the present day; but in no case was he a European Celt, in the sense that Herodotus uses that word. In Ireland he may, like the Normans, the Saxons, and the English, in their turn, have adopted the previous vernacular language of the inhabitants of the country—not an unusual thing when the number of immigrants is small, active, and intelligent, as compared to the local or aboriginal population, who become the servants, slaves, nurses (language-teachers of the children), and labourers of the new comers.

We have now wound up our case: let us see how far it will stand or fall by further investigation.

Your obedient servant,

EDWARD CLIBBORN.

Dublin, May, 1860.

Judah) and the non-developement of the Messianic prophecies, in the sense the tribes of Benjamin, Simeon, and Levi, had put upon them, it is not to be wondered at that this tribe, as hereditary soldiers, felt disposed to repudiate the Old Testament;—except as supplying types of military character. For this the Old Testament or its traditions may have been valued; and from these, the ideal soldiers, Cuchullin and others in early Milesian romance, may have been concocted. Every thing connected with that romance, in Dr. Keating's Ireland, is perfectly Jewish; seeming as if the Milesians in Ireland were thoroughly imbued with the spirit, if not the title, of ancient Judaism. Their pedigrees, and tribes, &c., are all on Jewish models, and unlike any thing else.

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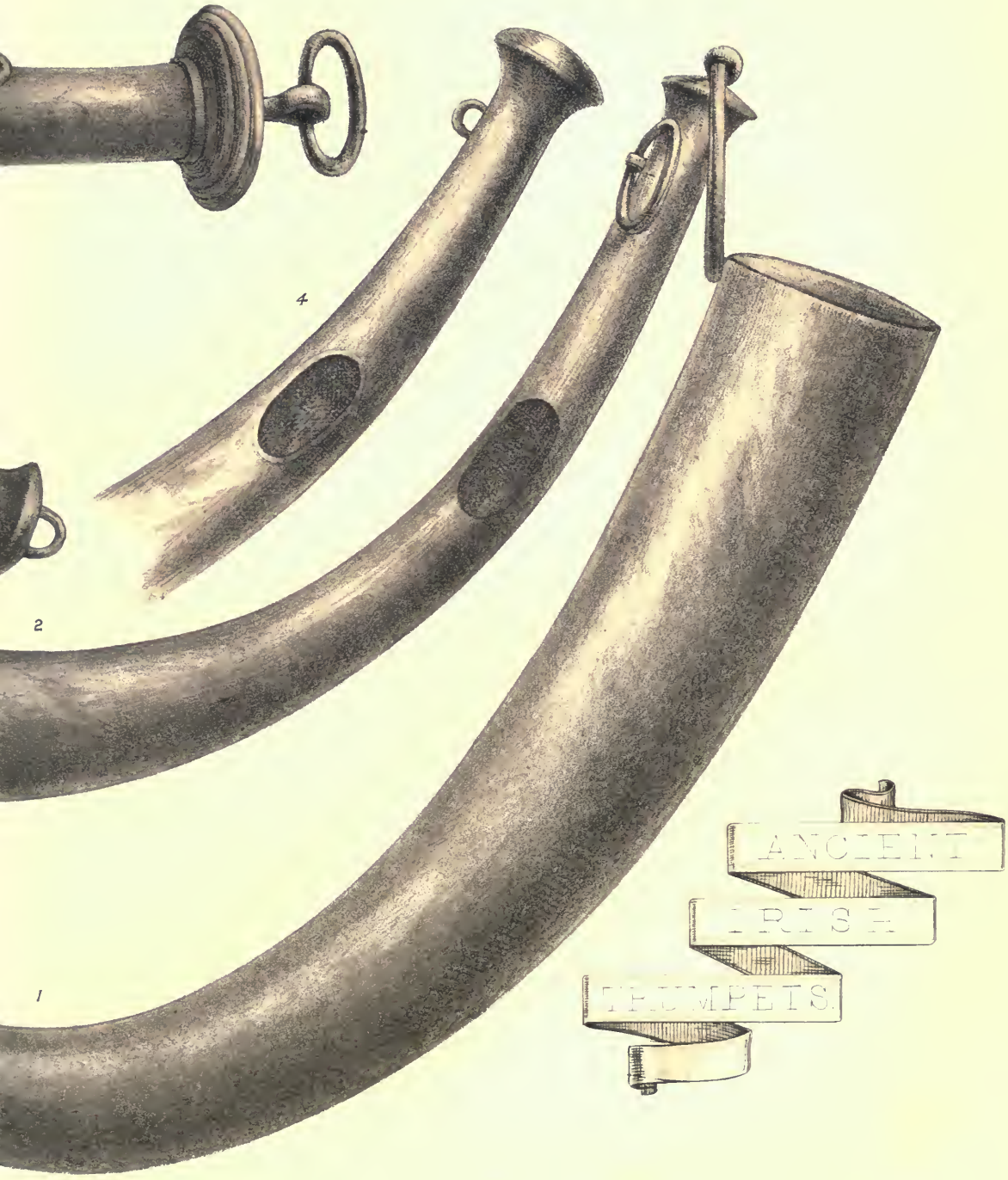
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ANCIENT
IRISH
TRUMPETS.

ANCIENT IRISH TRUMPETS.

Among the metallic antiquities discovered in this country, there are many that present forms and types which, so far as we yet know, are peculiar to Ireland. Whether the geographical position of our island, at the extreme west of Europe, and its exemption from the influence of Roman dominion, may have tended to preserve here, longer than elsewhere, the remains of a former civilization; or whether we are to attribute the peculiar forms of the ancient objects found in our soil to the influx of refugee strangers from various quarters into this asylum of the west, or to some of the numerous invaders who have successively landed on our shores, are questions difficult to resolve. One thing is certain, that the existence in Ireland, from a very remote period, of great tracts of turf-bog, has afforded the means of preserving unimpaired the relics of many different ages. In these depositories, it is well known, that not merely metallic objects, but those composed of wood, may continue to exist with little change for an indefinite period of time. Most of our bogs, until within the last century or two, have remained undisturbed by the hand of man (except here and there on their surface); because, so long as our extensive forests existed, it was easier to obtain fuel from them than to have recourse to cutting wet turf, which required a subsequent process of drying. Turf-bogs are known to be produced by the growth and gradual deposit of vegetable matter; but no certain evidence of age can be obtained from the *rate* of growth, as this is a question which is still quite involved in obscurity. In many cases the growth must be exceedingly slow, but in others we can conceive circumstances which would favour a more rapid development of the vegetable matter. Hence, the bogs themselves afford us no means of determining the date of deposit of any articles found in them. They may be either hundreds or thousands of years old. This great physical feature of Ireland, therefore, which is nowhere else found existing to the same extent, renders the chronology of our antiquities in many cases extremely puzzling. Another element of uncertainty is the diversity of the races of people who, at different remote periods, are known to have colonized or settled more or less partially in the island. Tradition and written history afford but little assistance in identifying these. It is, therefore, necessary for us to use great caution when endeavouring to assign either a date or an origin to any of our antiquities which present types different from those found elsewhere. One obvious means of assisting our decision would be a comparison of these antiquities with the ancient remains of a similar kind preserved in other countries. The materials for such a comparison are indeed rapidly accumulating, since the study of Archæology has begun to assume its proper importance throughout Europe; but it is only of late years that correct drawings and descriptions of such objects are becoming accessible to us; and a considerable time must yet elapse before we are in a position to know how far our Irish antiquities resemble or differ

from those of the chief ancient nations. The discoveries at Nineveh have lately opened up to our view one gorgeous illustrated page of ancient history; but we know not how many more will yet be unrolled. In the meantime, it is our duty, as archæologists, to record faithfully the forms and other peculiarities of our Irish antiquities; leaving to future inquirers, with more means of comparison at their disposal, to trace out their true age and origin.

Among our bronze antiquities, perhaps none are more remarkable than the Trumpets, of which a considerable number have been found in bogs in different parts of Ireland. An opportunity has just occurred of obtaining correct drawings of two very perfect specimens, which were discovered in the County of Antrim. They formed part of the collection of antiquities of the late James Bell, Esq., of Ballymoney, and have been placed at my disposal through the kindness of Mr. David Wilson, of that town.[a] These trumpets were found, with two others precisely similar, in the year 1840, in Drumabest bog, in the parish of Kilraughts (County Antrim). The other two were for many years in the possession of James Carruthers, Esq., of Belfast, and were shown at the great Exhibition of Irish Antiquities, held in the Belfast Museum, in 1852, on the occasion of the meeting of the British Association. Since then they have been sold in London.

The accompanying lithograph (Plate I., Figs. 1 and 2) gives a correct representation of the two trumpets belonging to the Ballymoney museum. The instruments are both made of cast bronze, without any joint, and are good specimens of the founder's art.

DIMENSIONS:

	ft.	in.
Fig. 1—Length of curve,	2	11
Distance from point to point,	1	11¾
Diameter of large end,	0	2½
Diameter of small end,	0	1½
Do. of ring,	0	1½
Weight of the Trumpet,	4 lb.	6 oz.

	ft.	in.
Fig. 2—Length of curve,	2	5
Distance from point to point,	1	7¾
Size of oval mouth-hole,	0	1⅝
by nearly	0	1
Diameter of large end,	0	2½
Do. of large ring,	0	2¾
Do. of small ring,	0	1½
Weight of the Trumpet,	3 lb.	12 oz.

The striking peculiarity of Fig. 2 is the position of the embouchure, or hole for the lips; which, in place of being at the smaller extremity of the instrument, as we are accustomed to see it in our modern trumpets, is placed *on one side*. This hole is also much larger than would be necessary if the trumpet had to be sounded in the usual way, by forcing compressed breath through it. In fact, it is impossible for any one at the present day to produce a clear musical sound from it, by any amount of exertion. The breath, not being confined at first in a narrow space, expands

[a] I have learned, with much pleasure, that by the liberality of Mr. Wilson, Mr. Cramsie, and some other gentlemen of Ballymoney, this valuable collection of local antiquities has been saved from dispersion, and been purchased to form the commencement of an archæological museum in that town.

so rapidly in the chamber of the instrument that there is not time to compress it with sufficient force; and hence, after the greatest effort, the only sound produced is a dull roar, which is not heard to any great distance. Mr. Clibborn (the Curator of the Royal Irish Academy) informs me, however, that the late Dr. Robert Ball, of Dublin, entertained a different opinion, and believed that trumpets of this construction were really musical instruments. By a strong effort of the lungs and lips, he was able to produce, on a smaller trumpet of this form in the Academy's Museum, a deep bass note, resembling the bellowing of a bull. And it is a melancholy fact, that the loss of this gentleman's life was occasioned by a subsequent experiment of the same kind. In the act of attempting to produce a distinct sound on a large trumpet (like the one in our Plate, fig. 2), he burst a blood-vessel, and died a few days after.

Trumpets of this particular kind, therefore, could not have been used as trumpets now are. What then, was their use? A natural suggestion is, that they were speaking-trumpets; but the opening for the lips, although large enough to permit some freedom of motion, is not well adapted for the perfect articulation of words. I am of opinion, therefore, that these instruments were used for the purpose of conveying signal-shouts to a distance, either in battle or in large assemblies of the people.

Trumpets of the same kind, as regards the mouth-opening, but differing in other respects, have been found in various parts of Ireland. In Boate and Molyneux's *Natural History of Ireland*, published in 1726, an engraving is given of one of these instruments, found some years previously, in opening a mound near Carrickfergus, of which the annexed is a copy. (Plate II., Fig. 1.) Three of them were found together, two of which were taken to England. Dr. Molyneux describes the specimen thus: "From *a* to *b* the length was about a foot and a-half; the diameter of the open at the widest end, *b*, about four inches; the smaller end, *a*, was entirely close, and the hole they blew at when they sounded was on one side, not at the end, as in our modern trumpets. What sort of noise those that had skill in sounding this kind of trumpet could make with it, before it had been any ways impaired by time, I cannot say; but at present, when it is blown it gives but a dull, uncouth, heavy sound, that cannot be heard at any great distance." (p. 197.)

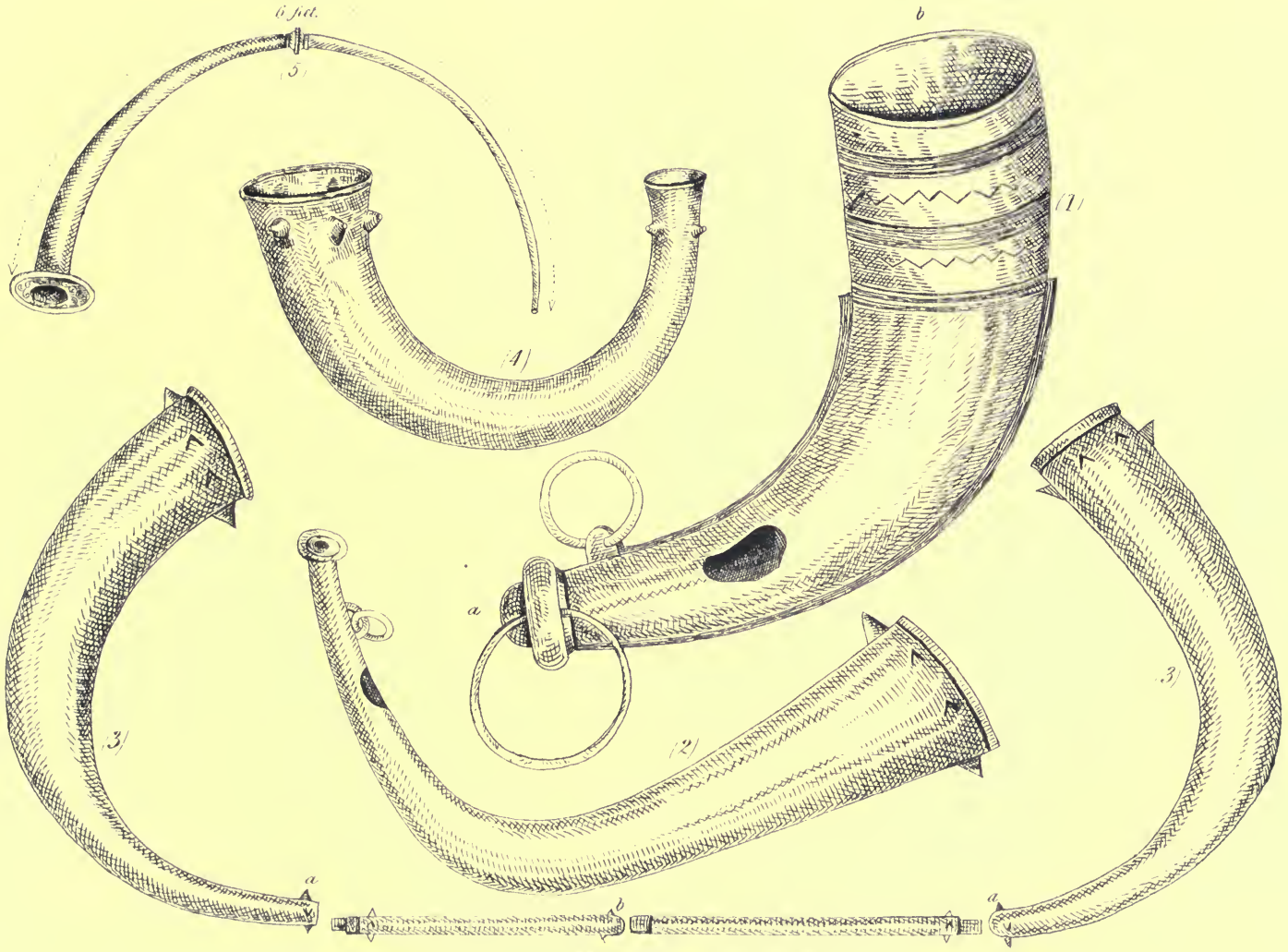
Smith, in his *History of the County Cork*, published in 1750, gives engravings of two trumpets, found in a bog between Cork and Mallow, which are copied here, (Plate II., Figs. 2 & 3,) with his scale of dimensions. Fig. 2 has the side-opening and rings, but is ornamented at the larger end by a row of projecting pointed knobs. Smith supposes that this instrument was used as a musical one, and observes: "If the method of filling the German flute was lost, and a person was to find one, it would be very difficult to guess what kind of sound it might afford: and the same may be said of our trumpets." Fig. 3 is a very remarkable instrument, and unlike anything yet described as having been found in this country. It is a double trumpet, open at both ends, and without a hole in the side. "From *a* to *a* are two brass pipes, better than half-an-inch in diameter. These pipes had been soldered at *b*,

but at *aa* they exactly enter the smaller ends of the curved part of the instrument. The curved parts are both of a size; if joined, when the pipe *b* was whole, it was impossible, by blowing in the wider end, to make any musical sound; but by blowing into either small end, with one or both pipes fixed, it might have afforded no unharmonious noise. The wider, as well as the smaller ends of these instruments are ornamented with a row of small pyramids. They are of cast brass, very smooth on the outside, but not quite so thin as a common brass trumpet." "There were thirteen or fourteen more discovered at the same time, but these were the most perfect and uncommon, especially fig. 3." (vol. ii. p. 406.)

Mr. John Windele, of Cork, has favoured me with sketches of several trumpets preserved in Cork, which were discovered in a bog near Killarney, in 1835 or 1836, along with a number of similar ones, of which Mr. Windele has a specimen in his collection. Fig. 4, Plate II., represents one of these trumpets. It is 21½ inches in length, 3¼ inches in diameter at the broad end, and 1⅜ inches at the narrow end. There are six conical projections at the large end, and four at the small. Several such trumpets were included among the Irish antiquities shown at the Cork Industrial Exhibition, in 1851. One specimen, belonging to the late Mr. John Herrick, of Cork, consisted of two parts, a curved and a straight joint, the latter having rings for suspension attached; the seams in this were not united by rivets, but appeared as if they had been brazed. Several specimens of the trumpets found near Killarney were purchased by the late Lord Londesborough.

In an account given in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 30th Nov., 1848, by Dr. Robinson, of Armagh, of an assemblage of bronze articles discovered with an ancient bronze cauldron, at Dowris, in the King's County, and now in the museum of the Earl of Rosse, are mentioned "three hunting horns, with lateral embouchure;" and "ten others, of a different kind, some having the seam united by rivets, in others apparently brazed. All of this kind, which differ considerably in size, seem to have had additional joints, of which three were found. In none of them is there any convenient embouchure." In a subsequent communication, published in the same *Proceedings* (December 10, 1849), from Thomas L. Cooke, Esq., of Parsonstown, respecting the same antiquities, he describes the horns as "gold-coloured horns or trumpets," and observes: "I have had in my possession many of those which were found at Dowris. Some of them had lateral mouth-pieces. I must remark, however, that I never saw one of this form put together with rivets, as described by Dr. Robinson. Having minutely examined all the bronze horns in the Earl of Rosse's collection, I have no hesitation in asserting, that not even a single one of them was united with rivets. Some of them present, at a distant view, to a superficial observer, the appearance of having been rivetted; but on closer inspection, such appearance turns out to be nothing more than a mere nail-head ornament, running along the sides, or around the wider aperture of the horn. It is quite clear that the entire horn, with its nail-head ornaments, was made at a single casting. I send for inspection two specimens

ANCIENT IRISH TRUMPETS.



of this description of ornamented horn, belonging to my own collection. To two of the horns in Lord Rosse's possession additions have been annexed, not by rivetting, but by a more remarkable process, that which is technically termed 'burning.' This mode of uniting metals is, I believe, reckoned now rather of modern invention. It is effected by pouring melted metal, at a glowing temperature, upon the junction of the two pieces intended to be united, and by that means fusing the entire into one mass."

Figs. 3, 4, and 5, in Plate I., represent the upper portions (reduced in size) of three trumpets in the Royal Irish Academy's collection, all with the lateral mouth-piece. These present some differences in the pattern, but all the instruments have precisely the same curved form as our specimen, Fig. 2. The mouth-hole in Fig. 3 is surrounded by a raised rim.

Several bronze trumpets were dug up in the year 1842, in a meadow in the townland of Killybreckan, parish of Clonfeacle, (County Armagh,) at a depth of about two feet from the surface. They are now in the possession of the Countess of Ranfurly. Others, found elsewhere in the same county, are in the Museum at Stackallen College, County Meath.

We have now to notice another form of ancient trumpet found in Ireland, and more remarkable, perhaps, than any of the preceding. In the year 1798, four brazen trumpets were discovered in boggy land on the borders of Loughnashade, near Armagh, in the property of Robert Pooler, Esq., of Tyross. Stuart, in his *History of Armagh*, has given a plate of one of them (which is here copied, Plate II., Fig. 5,) and the following description: "The trumpets, which are very curious remnants of antiquity, are of a golden colour, and nearly similar in size, form, and structure. One of these, now [1819] in the possession of Mr. Pooler himself, consists of two joints; the length of the whole sweep, which is nearly semicircular, is 6 feet. The diameter of the tube at the small end is 1 inch, and at the larger end $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches. No solder had been used in the construction of these trumpets. Yet they were perfectly air-tight, for the edges of the plate of which each is formed had been very neatly and ingeniously rivetted to a thin strip of brass placed directly under the joint, and extending the whole length of the instrument."[b] A much finer trumpet of this kind was found in a bog in the townland of Ardbrin, in the parish of Anaghlone, County of Down, about the year 1809, by the Rev. Joseph Martin, and is figured in the *Newry Magazine* [vol. i. p. 293.] It likewise consisted of two joints, which, "when taken from the bog, were as bright as gold. The finder, as soon as he had cleared the tubes of the moss which they contained, applied the smaller end of the larger joint to his mouth, and blew a blast, which immediately arrested the attention of the inhabitants of several adjacent townlands, who hurried to the spot. The form of the two joints, when placed together, is

[b] I am informed by Mr. John Bell, of Dungannon, (the writer of the article in the *Newry Magazine* above quoted,) that one of the four trumpets was purchased by Lieut. General Alexander Campbell, and by him taken to his house in Scotland; a second was presented to Mr. Trevor Corry in Newry, and afterwards sold in Dublin; one, as already mentioned, remained in the possession of Mr. Pooler; the fate of the fourth is not known.

very nearly semicircular. The curve of the larger part is, in sweep, 4 feet 10 inches, the chord 4 feet; the diameter of the smaller extremity of that tube is $\frac{7}{8}$ of an inch, that of the larger extremity $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The curve of the smaller part measures 3 feet 6 inches. The sweep of both joints, when placed together, is 8 feet 4 inches. The diameter of the smaller tube is uniformly the same from beginning to end, viz., $\frac{7}{8}$ of an inch: so that it could only have been connected with the greater joint by means of a third one, formed to grasp them both. In forming this trumpet, the edges of the plate had been brought together, and a thin strip of brass, placed at the point of junction from end to end in the interior of the instrument, had been rivetted to it with copper rivets, in a wonderfully neat style. In some parts, the line in which the edges of the brass are brought together cannot be discovered by the most minute inspection. These are the parts which seem to have been habitually grasped by the musician's hand. In other places delicate marks of a small hammer, used in closing the rivets, are perceptible. A very great variety of tones may be produced on this instrument." [p. 293.] At the exhibition of Irish antiquities in Belfast, already alluded to, Lord Rossmore exhibited a copy in brass of a large trumpet, nearly answering to this description. The original was stated to have been found in the County Antrim; but I am informed by Mr. Bell, of Dungannon, that the model was an imitation of this very trumpet, which he last saw in the possession of the late Dr. McDowell, of Monaghan; and that gentleman's son has mentioned to me that the original was subsequently sold to the late Dean Dawson, of Dublin.

It is difficult to understand in what manner instruments of such an unwieldy size were employed. Some have supposed that they were used on horseback, in which case they must have had some support, as such an instrument was much too long to be carried in the usual way. It is more probable that two persons on foot were required to manage the trumpet—one to support it, and the other to sound it; and it is, therefore, likely that it was an instrument used only on occasions of importance or solemnity, such as in processions, &c., and not in battle. That the intention was to produce a sound of extraordinary loudness is evident. It is known, from experiments, that sound can be conveyed distinctly to a great distance through a tube. The beat of a watch, placed in the mouth of a common cylindrical trumpet, is audible at double the distance at which it can be heard without employing the instrument. It has been ascertained that a man, speaking through a tube 4 feet in length, may be understood at the distance of 2,500 feet; through one of 16 feet, at a distance of 9,400 feet; and through one of 24 feet, at a distance of 12,500. These experiments were made with straight tubes: whether the curved form of these large trumpets increases the volume of sound is not known. It has been stated, on the authority of the late Arthur Brown, Esq., senior Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, that an experiment was actually made with one of the great trumpets above described, at the time it was discovered near Armagh, which proved its extraordinary power. He was informed that, being sounded by a trumpeter of the 23rd Regiment of Dragoons, then stationed there, it produced a tremendous sound, which could be heard for miles. I have been assured,

however, by Mr. Bell, of Dungannon, who saw all the specimens of large trumpets here alluded to, that this is quite an exaggeration: for that the only sound which could be produced from any of these horns was a very low, dull tone.[c] It is evident, indeed, that although the vibrations of the human *voice* may be conveyed to a great distance by being confined (and perhaps reverberated) in a long tube, there must be a certain length of tube, and that not very great, beyond which it would be impossible for human lungs to produce the vibrations in the instrument itself by the mere act of *blowing*. In several modern brazen instruments of music, such as the French horn, the breath is certainly made to pass along a considerable number of convolutions which, if extended in a straight line, would form a long tube; but this seems to have the effect of softening the tone, and rendering it more melodious, not of increasing its loudness. I am, therefore, inclined to believe that neither these very large Irish trumpets, nor those already described with a side-aperture, were ever employed as *blowing*-trumpets, but as *shouting*-trumpets; the smaller kind, from their more convenient size, being probably used in battle either for conveying signals, or for the same purpose as we now use drums,—to increase the din of war and animate the combatants, or to strike terror into the enemy. We have, in fact, distinct evidence that horns were used by the Celts of ancient Gaul for this very purpose. Polybius, an historian whose descriptions of ancient manners are considered highly trustworthy, has the following graphic passage in his account of the war between the Romans and the Celts:—"The parade and tumult of the army of the Celts terrified the Romans; for there was amongst them an infinite number of horns and trumpets, which, with the shouts of the whole army in concert, made a clamour so terrible and so loud, that every surrounding echo was awakened, and all the adjacent country seemed to join in the terrible din."[d] (Lib. 2.) We nowhere read of the Celts having used drums, either on the Continent or in the British Islands.

If we may trust a statement, quoted by Kircher, from a very old manuscript in the Vatican library, ascribed to Aristotle, our great Irish trumpets were far exceeded in size by the famous one of Alexander the Great. He is there said to have had a prodigious horn, five cubits in diameter: "With this brazen horn, constructed with wonderful art, Alexander called together his army at the distance of 100 stadia. On account of its inestimable workmanship and monstrous size, it was under the management of sixty men. Many kinds of sonorous metal were employed in the composition of it." [Bologna edition, 1564]. This MS. does not say expressly that Alexander *spoke* through the horn; and it is more likely (if there be any foundation at all for the story) that it was employed in the manner I have suggested. The legend proves, at all events, that the ancients were

[c] The extract which I have given from the *Newry Magazine*, describing the great trumpet found in the County Down, was writen by Mr. Bell. It is stated that the sound produced was such as to attract the attention of the people in several adjacent townlands: but Mr. Bell informs me that this statement was incorrect, and was introduced by the Editor of the Magazine without his authority.

[d] Livy (lib. v., c. 37) alludes in more general terms to these warlike noises of the Gaulish Celts:—"Jam omnia contrà circàque hostium plena erant, et nata vanos tumultus gens, truci cantu clamoribusque variis, horrendo cuncta compleverant sono."

aware that the power of transmitting sound was increased by the length of the instrument: and the manner in which its dimensions are stated (viz., its *diameter*, not its *length,)* would seem to indicate that this was a *curved* trumpet, like our large Irish ones.

We have no historical data whatever to assist us in determining at what period any of these trumpets were in use in Ireland. No notices of such instruments, that I am aware of, are met with in any of the works of English authors, relating to Ireland, since the Conquest, nor in any of the native Annals which have yet been made public. In the *Itinerarium Cambriæ* of Giraldus Cambrensis, which is an account of a journey through Wales made by Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1188, when he was accompanied by Giraldus, one curious notice occurs. Among the remarkable objects in Wales, believed to possess supernatural properties, he mentions "the horn of Saint Patrick, made of brass, not of gold, which lately came to those parts from Ireland, and whose extraordinary powers were first made known in that country by a terrible event, in consequence of its being foolishly sounded by a certain priest named Bernard;" and he adds that this horn had the property of emitting sweet sounds of itself, like those of a harp gently struck, when its larger extremity was put to the ear. [pp. 14. 15.]

None of the Irish works published by the Irish Archæological Society mention trumpets. In the curious one called the *Book of Rights*, preserved in two ancient Irish MSS., the *Book of Lecan* and the *Book of Ballymote*, and the materials for which are believed to have been originally recorded in the third century, a minute account is given of all the articles payable as tribute to the great Irish potentates. We have here specified the exact number of swords, shields, lances, coats of mail, helmets, rings, cauldrons, &c., to which each prince was entitled from his tributary chieftains; but in no instance do we find mention made of trumpets. It is remarkable, however, that in almost every page we find "drinking-horns" enumerated as part of each tribute. The word which is so translated is *corn;* and the idea struck me that possibly this might, in some cases, signify a horn for blowing; but the context of some of the passages where it occurs shows that, there at least, it can only mean a drinking-horn. Thus (p. 167) "Six tall (drinking) horns full of ale;" (p. 207,) "Seven (drinking) horns with their mead." One passage (p. 165) mentions "*curved* horns," a description which would apply as well to blowing-horns as to drinking-horns. Usually, however, the word *corn* is employed without any descriptive epithet: and it might be worth considering whether, in such cases, the word may not bear the other meaning: especially as I find the term *cornairedha* translated "trumpeters" in another publication of the Irish Archæological Society,[e] showing that certainly there was a kind of trumpet called by the ancient Irish *corn*. Now, it is worth noting, that the ancient Celts of the Continent of Europe had actually

[e] Entitled *Families and Customs of Hy Many* (O'Kelly's Country); a tract in the *Book of Lecan*, compiled in 1418, from earlier MSS. The family of O'Sheehan is here mentioned as supplying the hereditary trumpeters *(cornairedha)* of the chief.

a trumpet bearing this very name. Hesychius says: Καρνοι την σαλπιγγα Γαλαται ("the Gauls called the trumpet *Carnon*"); and Potter (*Grecian Antiquities*, vol. ii. p. 82,) mentions that one of the kinds of trumpets used among the Greeks (which was called Καρνυξ) was invented in Gallia Celtica. There can be no doubt that these names, as well as the Latin *cornu*, and our *horn*, are all derived from an ancient word, *corn* or *karn*, common to many languages, signifying the horn of an animal, but more especially a cow's horn. This was readily converted into a trumpet, to which the same name continued to be applied, and would afterwards be extended to metallic instruments resembling a horn in shape. Varro (*De Lingua Latina*, l. 4,) says expressly that "horns [*cornua*] which are now made of brass, are so called because they were formerly made of a cow's horn;" and Dionysius Halicarnas. (l. 2) speaks of officials calling the people to an assembly by blowing cows' horns. The Roman bronze trumpet called *cornu* was undoubtedly of a curved form, as is evident from the expression in Ovid (*Metamorph.* 1, 3. 10): "Non tuba directi, non æris cornua flexi," where the straight *tuba* is distinguished from the bent *cornu*.

One of the old Irish words signifying a trumpet is *buabhal*, which is certainly cognate with the Latin *bubalus*, a wild ox. Our English *bugle* can be traced to a similar origin; this word is an abbreviation for bugle-*horn*, and is unquestionably derived from the same root as the Latin *buculus*, a young ox.

Trumpets are occasionally mentioned in Irish romances and poems of the Middle Ages; but no historical value can be attached to these notices, as the writers of that period may have borrowed much of their imagery from foreign sources. The Brehon Laws, and the various unpublished historical poems which still exist in manuscript, may contain allusions which might throw some light on the subject; but as yet we have no means of access to their contents.

In the total absence of historical data, therefore, we have no resource but conjecture—and there has certainly been no want of this. Molyneux, Ledwich, and other writers on Irish antiquities, without hesitation, pronounce all such instruments found in Ireland to be Danish. Stuart, in his *History of Armagh*, says that the large trumpets which he describes were found on a spot which tradition points out as the scene of a great battle with the Danes; and Smith, in his *History of Cork*, asserts that his trumpets were found "in a Danish entrenchment." But it is singular that, in the great Museum of Danish antiquities, at Copenhagen, which contains specimens of all the various metallic articles used by the ancient Scandinavians, there is not to be seen one single trumpet like our Irish ones: at least, if we may judge by the copious pictorial catalogue of the museum, which has been lately published, giving representations of every class of objects, and which certainly would not omit such instruments, if any existed. Drinking-horns seem to be abundant; and two speaking-trumpets *(lurer)* are figured in the catalogue,[f] but quite different in form from any instrument found in this country. If our trumpets be Danish, how does it happen that not one specimen

[f] Enlarged edition of 1859, pp. 39, 40.

has ever been recorded as found in the Hebrides or the Isle of Man, which were under the government of the Scandinavians for centuries? And, indeed, why have they not been found in the North of England, where a permanent Scandinavian population has continued to exist since the time of the Danish Conquest? In the Icelandic account of the great battle at Clontarf, between the Danes and Irish, which is contained in one of the Sagas, there is no allusion whatever to such instruments. I may add, as conclusive evidence on this point, that Mr. Worsaae, the Danish archæologist, who is intimately acquainted with all the antiquities of his native country, and who took a prominent part in the formation of the Copenhagen Museum, had never seen trumpets with a side-aperture till he visited Ireland, in 1846.

Camden asserts that several of the Irish trumpets were found near the foot of Round Towers, and conjectures that they were used on the top of those buildings for summoning the people. The same opinion is adopted by a writer in the *Archæologia*, who says: "Round towers having only windows at the top, and being always situated near churches, I verily believe their principal use to have been to receive a person to call the people to worship with some wind-instrument, which would be heard to a much greater distance than small uncast bells could. In Mahometan countries, the voices of the Muezzins, or callers to prayers, who stand for that purpose on turrets much higher than their mosques, are heard to a very great distance. When in Holland, I was much surprised to what a distance I heard the man whose station is at the top of their highest steeples. He blows a trumpet frequently during the night; and, if he observes a fire, he keeps the instrument directed that way, and blows with a continuance, which never fails to be heard to the most distant part of their largest towns." [vol. ii. p. 81.]

It is well known that a trumpet is heard more distinctly in the quarter opposite to its mouth than in any other. The sound which, if not confined in the tube, would spread in all directions, issues with force at the extremity of the instrument, and, of course, reaches an ear placed in a line with it soonest and most distinctly. Now, this fact suggests a probable reason for the shape of our large curved trumpets: namely, that they were used by a person placed on an elevated spot, with the mouth directed *downwards* towards an assembly of people below. I do not think it at all likely that a trumpeter ever stood on one of our round towers; but he may have been stationed on a hill or rock on some occasion of solemnity.

Sir William Betham, in his *Etruria Celtica* (vol. ii. p. 148), states that our Irish semi-circular trumpets exactly resemble the Etruscan ones which are represented in the sculptures of their processions, and are found in excavating in their tombs. I have not seen any engravings of these; and, as the statements of this author are not always correct, I lay no stress on the resemblance here alleged; but it may be noted, in corroboration, that, according to Athenæus, (l. iv. 181,) the *cornu* was an invention of the Etruscans. Specimens found in Etruscan tombs are said to be in the British Museum.

The investigation of our early Irish antiquities continually tends to lead us towards the East as the probable source of many things which are peculiar to this country. Our bardic histories, however fabulous they may be in details, concur in bringing to Ireland an Eastern colony at a very remote period. Who these people were has yet to be discovered; but a rational conjecture is, that they were of Phœnician race, possibly from Carthage, or some of the other numerous colonies of that colonizing people. We know from the Jewish Scriptures, that the Phœnicians were the great manufacturers in metals of that time, from whom the Jews themselves were supplied. We meet with frequent mention of trumpets in the Old Testament: a single reference may be sufficient to show that instruments of this kind, made of metal, were in use among the Jews at a very early period. In *Numbers* (chap. 10,) we find the following passage:—"And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Make thee two *trumpets of silver:* of a *whole piece* shalt thou make them, that thou mayest use them for the *calling of the assembly*, and for the journeyings of the camps;" and in this chapter even directions are given for the various kinds of signals by trumpet-call. The Phœnicians and Jews were only branches of the same great Semitic race, and resembled each other not only in language, but in customs. Hence, we may presume that the Phœnicians employed metallic trumpets themselves for the same purposes, and that they would carry them with them to their different colonies. We know that they traded to the British Islands.

It is not impossible that the Phœnicians themselves may have borrowed their curved trumpets from some nation still farther east, for they are used even now by the Hindoos, a people who preserve ancient customs with astonishing tenacity. Bishop Heber, in his *Journal*, speaks of the celebration of a great religious festival at which he was present:—"The Hindoo festival of Churruck Poojah commenced this day. . . . The music consisted chiefly of large double drums ornamented with large plumes of feathers like those of a hearse, *large crooked trumpets*, &c." [vol. i. 98.]

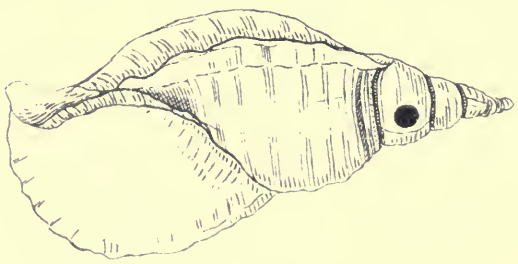
Whatever may be the origin of our trumpets, they certainly belong to a remote antiquity. They are clearly not Danish, Saxon, or Roman; and we cannot show from our annals that they were Irish during the period of written history. They must, therefore, either be relics of an ancient Celtic civilization, or be the importation of some colonists from a distance. If they belong to the former, they must have formed part of a system of manners and customs which extended much further than Ireland. We ought to find relics of the same period resembling them in France or Spain, where Celtic nations lived at the dawn of history; but, for so far, nothing of the kind has been discovered. Hence, until further evidence appears, the advocates of an Eastern origin have as good a case as any others. The excellent state of preservation in which the specimens are found is no argument against their great antiquity: the preliminary remarks to the present paper point out a sufficient reason for this.

One very curious trumpet remains to be noticed, which has just come into my possession through the kindness of Mr. David Wilson, of Ballymoncy. It is represented by Fig 6, in Plate I.,

and was found, about six years ago, in a bog in the townland of Garry, parish of Ballymoney, (County Antrim). The same locality has produced a number of other antiquities, including stone hatchets and flint arrow-heads, all found at a depth of about three feet from the surface. This trumpet is made of sheet brass very neatly soldered at the joints, and of a yellower colour than the ancient bronze. Its form is quite unique, as I believe nothing resembling it has ever been discovered in Ireland. It was apparently a *listening*-trumpet, for assisting imperfect hearing: and it certainly answers the purpose admirably, as words uttered in the large bell-shaped mouth are even painfully loud to a person who applies the small end to his ear. The conical appendage which encircles the smaller end is evidently intended to prevent the ear from being hurt by the trumpet, and to render the instrument more steady when in use. The entire length of the curve is $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches; the large mouth is oval, measuring $4\frac{3}{8}$ inches by $3\frac{1}{2}$; small end circular, and $\frac{1}{4}$ inch diameter. The material of this trumpet, and the use of solder, may indicate that it is not of very great antiquity; but from the circumstances under which it was found, it may date back three or four hundred years at least. Mr. Wilson purchased it from the poor man who found it, and satisfied himself at the time, by inquiry, that it was really discovered in the place stated; and besides, the sum paid was so trifling that the finder had no inducement to make any false statement.

I had just finished writing the preceding remarks, when I accidentally walked into the Belfast Museum, and the very first object that struck my eye was one so completely illustrative of my subject that I cannot help mentioning it. It was a New Zealand war-trumpet, presented to the Museum during the last fortnight, and formed simply of a large conch-shell, with a *mouth-hole in one side!* Here is the very prototype of our unique Irish trumpets: "Verily there is nothing new under the sun!"

ROBERT MACADAM



CAHIR CONRI.

By JOHN WINDELE, CORK.

Some few years since, before Archæological Congresses were known, four Members of the "South Munster Antiquarian Society," consisting of the Rev. Mathew Horgan, a distinguished *Ollamh re Seanchus*, Abraham Abell, William Willes, and the writer, determined to explore the vicinity of Dingle, in the county Kerry, and the rich field of primæval Antiquities lying around that locality. A visit to Cahir Conri, a large Cyclopean structure, giving name to the western extremity of Slieve Mis mountain, formed a portion of their programme of proceedings. The legendary celebrity of this ancient fortress, added to the obscurity and uncertainty involving its present existence, form, and character, induced them to resolve these questions by a personal investigation.

Smith (*History of Kerry*, p. 156) describes it as "a *circle* of massy stones laid one on the other in the manner of a Danish intrenchment;" several of them from eight to ten cubical feet, but all very rude. "It seems indeed," he adds, "wonderful how human strength, unassisted by engines, could possibly raise stones of such prodigious weight to the summit of so steep and high a mountain."

Theophilus O'Flanagan (*Trans. Gael. Society*, p. 50) regarded the monument as a *Cairn*,—"a heap of loose stones that appear to have been collected on the mountains."

The late Dr. Thomas Wood, author of *An Inquiry concerning the Primitive Inhabitants of Ireland*, describes it as still subsisting on the "summit" of the mountain. Whilst Dr. John O'Donovan, one of the most cautious and able antiquaries of our time, describes it as a *fort*, but says it "has been long since destroyed."—*Battle of Magh Rath*, p. 212.

For several miles the journey of the travellers lay at the base of Slieve Mis,[a] a range of mountains of undulating outline, seamed with the furrows of many gushing streams. On their right lay gleaming in the sun light the broad waters of Tralee bay, called of old time Lough Foirdreamhuin, one of the "three lakes of Ireland" in A.M., 2520. Their progress was more interrupted and somewhat slower than what usually falls to the lot of the wayfarer over this ground, as they tarried occasionally wherever an ancient rath, pillar-stone, cloghaun, or ruined church, attracted their notice. In this manner they visited the old churches of Annagh and Kilelton, structures of very different eras—the latter one of the earliest, as it is perhaps the smallest in Ireland. Near Annagh they inspected the stone circle and the half erased rath of Tonakilla, and farther on a stone

[a] The name of *Mis* belongs to two mountains in Ireland, one in Antrim, the other, this of Kerry, both of equal celebrity, although on different accounts: the southern as the scene of the decisive battle which gave the dominion of the island to the Scoto-Milesians, and the northern as connected with the early history of St. Patrick.

chair, at the south-east side of which are eight remarkable pillar-stones, of which six are now prostrate, and two only retain their upright position. The latter are so placed as to present the appearance of head and foot stones to a gigantic *leacht* or grave, and stand ten feet two inches asunder. Thence, following the sinuosity of the road, they quitted the vicinage of the shore, and wound inward around the western base of the mountain, where it may be said to terminate in a deep and rather narrow valley, whose extremity is clad in the foliage of groves and plantations, over which is seen the spire of Kilgobbin church. And now was heard the murmuring voice of a rushing rivulet, which gradually became more audible, until its waters, where crossed by a picturesque bridge, were seen bounding in a foaming torrent over a bed obstructed by masses of broken rock, and thence flowing onward in wild haste, pursued their noisy course towards the ocean. That stream was the *Fionglaise*, or fair river, which, as tradition says, once ran white with milk poured into it, the signal of a faithless wife to an expectant lover. It is now less romantically employed in turning a mill, seen midway in the wooded vale beneath. High up the mountain's side are its sources; and the valley which it waters is *Glenfais*, or *Glenaish*, so named from the heroine Fais, wife of one of the Scotic leaders, whom she accompanied "from the sunny land of Spain," in their adventurous quest of the "Isle of Destiny." She merely lived to witness the first conflict with the mythic Dananns, in which she seems herself to have been engaged, and to have received her death-wound. Tradition says she was buried at the spot where afterwards the little church of Kilelton was built.

In the same engagement fell another Amazonian lady, Scota, the mother of our "great forefathers,"—the Clanna Milidh, and widow of Milesius. The place of her sepulture is marked on the Ordnance sheet 38, as "Scota's grave" in an upland glen, about a mile south of Tralee, and some eight miles to the east of Glenfais. There her grave-stone is still pointed out, a great natural flag about thirty-five feet in length and eleven broad. The tradition is confirmed by several ancient manuscripts which treat of the landing of the Scoti. The sojourn of Scota at Glenfais must, however, have been of some duration previous to her death, if the same tradition is to be credited; for it is said that her favourite practice, whilst here, consisted in leaping from the hill of *Cnoc na miol* (hill of hares) at one side to *Cnoc na damh* (hill of oxen) at the other, a feat of no small magnitude, even though the glen between is not of the broadest.

To one who studies the history and early Archæology of Ireland, this part of Kerry presents memorials and associations abounding in interest. The Bardic narrative has given us names and events in connection with the district, to which recent researches really attach credibility and importance. Topographical names and traditions, which have descended for countless generations, are here still preserved and in ordinary use, sustaining an early record of the Milesian advent on these shores; whilst, within a few recent years, remains and vestiges, long forgotten or unnoticed, have been unexpectedly discovered, calculated, it may be, to illustrate what many have regarded as

a baseless myth. The discoveries of Archdeacon Rowan in Glenaish, of graves of the earliest type, and of monumental pillar-stones, one inscribed in the ancient Ogham character, seem facts full of promise in elucidating this long "vexed question." The inscription belongs to a class known to be numerous in the Corkaguiny peninsula in Kerry; and whenever their import shall be satisfactorily ascertained, it is believed that, if no direct, at least some inferential light may be shed thereby on this remote period of our history. Hitherto the language expressed in these inscriptions has offered serious difficulties to those who have sought its meaning; its extreme antiquity, strange orthography, and, doubtless, abbreviated forms, have tested to the utmost the powers of interpretation of our ablest and most experienced scholars. Indeed from the mere attempt we find the O'Donovans, Connellans, and Currys, repelled with an instinctive dread and shrinking. Others, with more confidence or temerity, have grappled with the subject, but unfortunately there is found but little accord between the interpreters. This observation applies especially to the reading given of the Glenfais inscription, which, as rendered by four excellent scholars, agrees only in a general reference to, or presumed connection with, the Milesian tale, as handed down to us. What that tale is may be briefly repeated, without claiming for it entire acceptance.

On the landing of the sons of Miledh or Milesius, at Inbher Sceine (the Bay of Kenmare), some 1300 years B.C., they marched to Slieve Mis, where Banba, one of the three Danann queens of Ireland, with her female attendants and druids met them. Questioned by Amhergin, she informed him of her name, and that it was from her the island was called Inis Banba. Other accounts say that she requested Amhergin to continue her name to the island, which he promised her should be done. The book of "*Dromsneachta*" states that Amhergin asked her of what race she was descended. "I am come," said she, "of the sons of Adam." "Which of the sons of Noah are you descended from?" inquired Amhergin. "I am older than Noah," answered Banba, "and I have resided on this mountain during the deluge, and even to this period, since the deluge. This is what is called the family of *Tuinne;* but however, that race became extinct at that period." They then sang incantations to her, and Banba departed from them. *(Book of Ballymote,* fo. 21.) After this the Scoti traversed Ireland until they reached Liathtruim or Tara. Here they parlied with the Danann Kings, the reigning powers, demanding possession of the kingdom from them or battle. The conference ended in the singular agreement that the strangers should retrace their way back to their ships, at Inbher Sceine, and there embarking, set out "nine waves to sea," after which, if they could effect a landing against the Tuatha de Dananns, they should have the dominion of Ireland thenceforth. In vain, when at sea, did the Dananns raise, by their magical powers, a storm for their destruction; many, including five sons of Miledh, were lost by the violence of the tempest, and the fleet was dispersed. But Heber and his division succeeded in landing, and, on the third day after, the battle of Slieve Mis was fought. Here fell and were buried two sons of Milesius, as also their mother Scota, the daughter of Pharaoh and widow of Miledh, and Fas the wife of Un, son

of Uighe, from whom Glenfaisi is named.[b] Two distinguished Druids of the invading host were also slain in the battle; their names were Uar and Eithiar. These were the most renowned of the Gaels. Three hundred of the Milesians and one thousand of the Tuatha de Dananns fell here. After the defeat and flight of the latter, the victors remained on the place of battle burying their dead, and especially the two Druids:

"Grey flags cover their lonely sepulchres,
In the graves of heroes they laid them."

And after this the two princes, Heber and Heremon, made a division of the whole island between them.

From the hostile opposition which the Milesians met with here, the mountain, according to an ancient tract in the *Book of Ballymote*, fo. 21, received its name, it being the worst *(Measa)* mountain the Milesians had found in Ireland on their arrival, for it was there they fought their first battle. Or, says the manuscript, it was from *Measa*, daughter of Muredh, it derived its name.

The same tract says, it was either at the mountain opposite Dergert (probably Sliabh Eibhlinne, near Lough Derg), or at Slieve Mis that the Milesians conversed with Banba, when she requested that Ireland should receive her name.

It also asserts that it was at Slieve Mis that Eire (another of the three Danann queens), had her name given to Ireland, and that here "she summoned forth (by magic) great armies, to oppose the Milesians. Their Druids and Poets also sang incantations for them, by which they were so diminished in size as to appear not to be larger than a sod of mountain turf, from which circumstance the name of Sliabh Mis was imposed on the mountain."

One of the chiefs of the Milesian expedition was *Nar*,

"From whom the moody Ros *Nair* derived its name,
Situate in the neighbourhood of the Momonian Sleav Mis."

Poem of Flan of Bute, 1056.

"The erection of Cathair *Nair* of great fortification,
At Slieve Mis was performed by *Fulman*."—*Ibid.*

In A.M., 4319, Enda Dearg or Ruadh, so called from his florid complexion, of the line of Heber, and monarch of Ireland, together with an immense multitude of his subjects, fell victims to a plague at Slieve Mis.[c] [*Four Masters*, 1, 63.]

Circa A.M., 4981. Rudhraigh, King of Ireland, fought a battle at Slieve Mis. [*Ibid*, 1, 85.]

[b] Heremon bestowed the province of Connaught upon Eadan and Un. The latter (the husband of Fais) built the Dun of Carrig Fethaighe, supposed to be Rathoon, near Galway. Un afterwards was killed in the battle of Comhraire (Westmeath), fought against King Heremon, A.M. 3506.

[c] The Gruagach of Slieve Mis, the tutor of the three sons of Torlav Mac Stairn, is a prominent character in the tale of the "Triuir Mac," a rather modern Romance, but grounded on ancient traditions.

At Camp, one of the townlands of Glenfais, have been found, in the process of reconstructing an old road, several cists or graves containing human remains, but no other relics. These are of a similar type to other ancient graves of the pagan period found at Relig-na-riogh, and elsewhere in Ireland. A few only were opened, but there are indications of several others at either side of the road, which remain unexamined. Of the pagan antiquity of this mode of sepulture there can be no question; but remembering the successive battles just mentioned, and the plague of A.M. 4319, recorded in our annals, no conclusion can be ventured as to the identity or date of the interments, though a probable deduction may be drawn from the care bestowed upon the burial of the slain in the first Milesian conflict. To the ethnologist, the remains discovered, and yet to be found, might present a subject of much interest, and the skulls be made available in solving the mystery which shrouds those interments. Perhaps there may be disinterred here types of the old Celtiberian races, or an Egyptian link connecting these remains with the Phœnicians and the Aire Coti.

The two *Dallans* or monumental pillar-stones, already mentioned, stand at some considerable distance from each other: one of them, about twelve feet in height, is still erect; the other is fallen. The first is uninscribed; the latter, which measures eleven feet five inches in length by six feet in breadth, has an inscription consisting of nineteen letters in the ancient virgular or Ogham character, clearly and legibly incised upon one of its angles. This was first noticed in 1858, by Archdeacon Rowan, adjoining to whose property it lies. It was subsequently visited by the Rev. John Casey, of Killarney, and since then by Mr. William Williams, of Dungarvan, both gentlemen well versed in our Ogham literature. Dr. Rowan has published in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. vii., p. 100, a report upon his very interesting discovery, accompanied by a drawing. In this he calls attention to a small rude cross incised upon the face of the stone, "marking obviously an attempt to christianize the monument;" but, as he very properly observes: "It seems to me impossible to look upon this mark without feeling convinced that it is not of the same age, nor cut with the same care as the Ogham characters; it seems of ruder, later, and hastier workmanship altogether." Messrs. Casey and Williams have each given translations of the inscription; both differing, it is true, and not easily reconcileable, but still having reference to the mighty dead that sleep beneath—personages, whether Druids or Warriors, connected possibly with the Milesian invasion.

The literal decypherment runs as follows:—

So eu u cu ea ff m a n i s o cu o a r i .

Of this Mr. Casey forms a sentence, which reads, *So cu uarff mo Ni so cu o ni.* He translates it: "Herein rests Nighe, the celebrated fire-worshipping Druid and illustrious warrior." *Ni* or *Nuige* is said to have been the father-in-law of the lady Fais. Mr. Williams, on the other hand, reads:—"*Sochudhthi ffmon il loco ari,*" and translates this:—"The sacred stone of hosts, of mighty men in the place of slaughter;" whilst Mr. James Coleman, of Ballinascarty (Cork), freely

reads it as "*San lic so dtuchea na ffiamamni a llocho an aria,*" which he renders: "This sacred stone is the battle grave of the priests in the place of slaughter." To these must be added another interpretation by a gentleman now resident in New York, which appeared in the *Irish American* newspaper. It seems as little calculated as the others to throw any certain light upon the import of the inscription; but still bears a pre-historic character, and with apparent probability refers to the two priests who had fallen in the first battle. The American interpreter renders the legend: "*Socu ceinb-moni; Socu re*:" *i.e.* "The priest of holy Cnub (or Cneph), the priest of the sun." It need scarcely be pointed out that each translator assumes values for some of the characters, differing from those given in the received Ogham scale.

In any case, the inscription possesses a more than ordinary interest; and when taken in connexion with its historical site, its importance cannot be overrated. Dr. Johnson has said, that popular traditions are never entirely false nor entirely true; and here a strong presumption is afforded in favour of the veracity of that portion of our early traditional history which the annalist Tigernach, nine centuries ago, considered as (at worst) only "uncertain." Not only the credibility of our history, but the origin and antiquity of Ogham writing must be considerably affected by the explanation of this inscription.

Passing the Fionglais, by a bridge of three arches, erected in 1824, our exploring party proceeded by a narrow by-road towards the mountain, here towering gigantically above the valley. Unfortunately, although the day was otherwise fine, the summits were concealed from view by a sluggish covering of vapour, which afforded but little hope of speedily clearing away. Nevertheless, resolved not to be disappointed, they determined to make the ascent. A considerable space intervened between where the road terminates and the mountain acclivity begins. A bleak moorland, intersected by fences, and interrupted by streams and crags, rendered their course unusually difficult, so that by the time the actual escalade had commenced, the Rev. Mr. Horgan, overcome by the toil, acknowledged himself unequal to the more arduous journey yet before him. Taking his seat, therefore, on a mass of rock beside a noisy stream, he resolved there to await the return of his more adventurous companions.

The ascent was indeed full of labour, the more so by reason of the great obscurity through which it was made, the cloud in which they moved not permitting the party to see a yard before them in any direction: gradually the acclivity became almost perpendicular, so that as they approached the site of the Cahir, now overhanging "abrupt and sheer" in gloomy magnitude of proportions, they were compelled to make a long detour before they could gain the level surface above it. The plateau thus attained is but a short distance from the spot named *Barr tri gamhuin*, (the summit of three yearling cows), which stands at an elevation of 2,796 feet above the sea, nearly midway between the Bay of Tralee on the north and that of Castlemain on the south. The local denomination of the Cahir is "*Boen Cahirach*:" its situation is a kind of projecting horn or promontory of a few acres in ex-

tent, at a little lower altitude. On two of its sides it is defended by the natural rock, inaccessibly steep, a character which, in the wild heroic ages of insecurity and aggression, particularly recommended it as a meet site for an Acropolis, since it required but little aid from art to render it almost impregnable. The eastern side opens upon the table-land of the mountain, and here was constructed a great cyclopean wall, which gives to it its title of *Cahir*, signifying a fortified or enclosed place. This term was extended in after ages to walled towns, places originally of refuge under warfare, and used alike for defence or offence. The rampart extends diagonally north and south, from one extremity to the other, forming, as Dr. Wood has described it *(Inquiry*, &c., p. 50,) "with the verges of the hill an irregular triangle, within which the inaccessible parts of the mountain are enclosed." At the southern extremity the wall takes its direction along the edge of the precipice; but its proportions have been much reduced by the falling away of parts of the masonry down the declivity; so much so, that in some portions, its breadth has been reduced to nearly two feet. Nowhere does the wall exceed nine feet in height: its greatest present breadth is eleven feet, but its probable original width was not more than six. No cement was anywhere used in its construction. On the inside there are some appearances which would lead to the inference that the face of the wall consisted of a series of steps projecting from it, as on the interior of the fort at Staigue, and on the exterior face of the inner rampart at Dun Ængus, in Aran. The vestiges, however, of these stairs are few, and not very strongly defined. Its whole length is 170 paces, or 360 feet. At about 90 feet from its northern extremity, there is what now appears a breach or opening in the wall, broad at top and narrow below. This is supposed to have been the position of the ancient door-way: in its lower part the passage is not more than two feet wide; but all vestiges of its original form or proportions have been destroyed. Dr. Wood says there are two gates, each above eleven feet wide; but this is an error. Even had there been two, the breadth assigned would not be borne out by the existing examples of doors at Dun Ængus, Staigue, and Dunbeg.

The material forming the wall is the conglomerate or pudding-stone of the mountain, and found generally covering its surface. The proportions of the stones used are rather moderate, averaging about eighteen inches in length and six in thickness; in this respect similar to the masonry at the Duns above mentioned, all of which belong to the first or earliest style of Cyclopean architecture, [see Fosbrooke,] which consists of irregular blocks, filled up with small stone. Although, in the magnitude of the materials used, there is not much to realize our idea of the massive workmanship of a race of earth-born giants, yet the term Cyclopean will nevertheless properly apply to structures of this kind, in the genuine sense of the term; for, according to Pliny, the Cyclops were the inventors of architectural fortification; and in their first specimens, exhibited at Tyrins and Mycenæ, we find the masonry composed of uncemented work. Beyond the rampart, a further examination disclosed no appearance of earth-work, fosse, or outer circumvallation of any kind. The builders of the Cahir evidently trusted in full confidence to the natural strength of the position,

with its outlying crags, as not requiring any complicated works of art for its defence beyond the great vallum. A lengthened beleaguering of such a fortress appeared to them to be beyond any reasonable probability, and therefore not necessary to be provided against. There is, outside the wall, a remarkable hollow about four feet across, but its use or object is not apparent.

Inside the wall, Dr. Wood says there are six or eight pits, and he was informed that formerly there were twelve of them. These pits offer a curious subject for investigation, as they may probably have formed sites for *sunken* residences, similar to those of the ancient Britons, upon which Mr. Saul read a paper at the Congress of the British Archæological Association, held at Gloucester, in 1856. [See *Transactions*, p. 152.]

One of the inducements to the visiting party to explore this high seated fortress was the report of a monument contained within it, said to have been scored with the marks of the *skeins* or knives of Fionn's guests, when that redoubtable chieftain, in an age subsequent to that of Conri, sojourned and held his court there. The "whittling" of the rude warriors upon the stone table was deemed a probable indication of an Ogham inscription; but a moment's glance at the stone pointed out by their guide sufficed to remove this expectation. The table shown them is a projection of the natural rock, of rather level surface, cropping out of the soil at a slight elevation; but the so-called knife-marks are mere natural seams or cracks, without the slightest appearance of art. At a distance of about a mile to the north, on somewhat the same level, are two other monuments, one called Fionn's Chair, and the other Fionn's Table. How the name of this ubiquitous chieftain became connected with this place, tradition does not inform us; but it would seem that here, as elsewhere, Fionn has almost eclipsed the fame of the earlier possessor, and his name been substituted for that of the older traditional personage. It may be that the Fenian chief may have been attracted hither by the renown of its old occupant. His own principal Momonian residence at Teamhair Luachra, near the sources of the Feale and Blackwater, was not distant to the east more than a day's journey; whilst one of his favourite hunting-grounds was said to have been the "brown-haired Mangerton," on the shores of the fair lake at its base; all these places lying midway between this Cahir and his own "rushy Tara." It is not difficult, therefore, to imagine that he occasionally sojourned and feasted on this breezy eminence.

Cahir Conri is a very interesting specimen of those barbaric fastnesses raised in ages of great insecurity, when sites were selected, not for their beauty, but rather for the wide range of their prospect, and were deemed most eligible when nearly inaccessible. Horrid precipices and dizzy overhanging crags formed the best recommendations for selection to the founders of the Dun and the Cahir. The brink of the bold sea cliff, or the brow of the bleak mountain, the isolated rock, or the peninsulated promontory was indifferently chosen, provided it was accompanied by defensive characteristics. Such were the hill-fortresses of Ailech, in Donegal; the fort of the Clanna Morna, on Lurgedan, in the Glens of Antrim; Dun Ailline, in Kildare; Cahirdrinny and Knockavilla, in

Cork; and Braich y Dinas, on Snowdon, in Wales. Such also were the sea-side Duns of Dun Ængus, in Aran; Dunamoa, in Erris; and Dunbeg, in Kerry; and the ancient Duns of Cearmna and Sobhairce, (the old head of Kinsale, in Cork, and Dunseverick, in Antrim,) afterwards selected as the suitable sites of mediæval castles.

It was the same urgent craving for security, in unsettled times, that compelled men to construct those singular insulated dwellings called *Cranogues*, on sites of artifical foundation, amidst the waters of lakes and river expansions. This seems to have been a practice with all the Celtic races, whether Gaelic or Cimbric, in the Helvetic lakes, in the waters of Norfolk and of Ireland. The necessity for such means of protection against violence evinces a condition of society little in accordance with our ideas even of semi-civilization. It indicates the existence of those interminable feuds which, from the earliest to the latest times, characterized the state of clanship; the separate and conflicting independencies yielding little more than a nominal obedience to the supreme authority. When such fortresses as Ailech, Dun Ængus, and Cahir Conri formed the residences of Kings, we may readily conclude what the condition of the general population must have been. As regarded his period, Conri selected the site for his Cahir judiciously: however deficient the position may be in respect to the general convenience of residence, in a military sense it was unexceptionable. Its ruggedness, immense elevation above all the neighbouring region, and savage features of strength, gave it an importance beyond every other consideration, and made it a meet abode for a king who ruled over men accustomed to aggression; in a time when the wholesale plunder of cattle and every other description of property formed an element of glory, and the vassal acknowledged no restraint beyond that of superior force, obeyed no law save—

> "The good old rule, the simple plan,
> That he shall take who has the power,
> And he shall keep who can."

Here, high perched in his almost inaccessible eyrie, secure alike against open attack or sudden surprises, he could proudly look down over a sea-girt realm, whilst in his rear the mountain peaks formed speculæ, whence timely signals would announce the approach of danger from a distance.

What the character of the buildings within the enclosure were we have now no means of knowing, beyond conjecture. There are no remains of those uncemented dome-shaped *Cloghauns* which occur in the fortresses of Dunbeg, Cahirgall, or the two great Raths at Cahirdorgan, near Kilmelkedar, in the same peninsula. The structures may probably have been of "cob-work," or of plastered wicker, or in that "lignarian" style of which the venerable Charles O'Conor so admiringly and pompously descants. Be this as it may, a cheerless, damp, and uncomfortable (although incomparably well-ventilated) residence was this "bleak-house." For at least three-fourths of the year its denizens must have been veritable "children of the mist."

In antiquity and importance Cahir Conri ranked, according to the "Irish triads," as one of the

three old buildings of Ireland, with Dunsobhairce, (Dunseverick, in Antrim,) and Dun Cearmna, on the old head of Kinsale, Cork. The antediluvian Fiontuinn MacBochna, in recounting to a royal audience at Tara all the great characteristic objects, remarkable monuments, rivers, lakes, &c., in Ireland, mentioned "Cahir Connraoi" as one.

When we compare such remains with other evidences calculated to give a character to the era, we are struck with the anomaly presented to our notice, of barbaric rudeness on the one hand, and of a considerable and progressive advancement on the other. The skill and excellence attained in architecture must not be judged of by the great vallum here piled up; we must rather look to our Round Towers, and the dome-shaped buildings at Gallerus, &c.; whilst the taste and ability manifested in the metallurgic art of the period, as exhibited in the great variety of ancient implements, objects of personal ornament, and relics in the precious metals, torques, brooches, ring-money, &c., all undoubtedly belonging to those primæval times, which have descended to us, are at least very remarkable. On these the artist has expended and exhibited an amount of elaborate device and ornament truly surprising. If we add to these the proficiency and skill in music—a music undoubtedly kindred to, but vastly improved upon that of India, Java, and China, and which won, in later ages, from the prejudiced Cambrensis his reluctant admiration, we must admit that, however rude the habitations, the population had made certain advances towards civilization.

The personage to whom tradition has assigned the construction of the Cahir, was Conri or Curi, son of Daire, of the line of Heremon, King of *Iar Mumhan* or West Munster. He flourished about the time of the Incarnation, contemporaneously with Eochaidh Abhra-ruadh (of the red eyebrows), of the race of Heber, who governed East Munster. A line drawn from Limerick to Bealach Conglais, near Cork, (if the name does not indicate the site of that city itself,) marked the division of the two provinces; that of Conri, with its varied line of sea-coast and numerous inlets, forming an important portion of the federal monarchy of the island. He was the head of the *Milesian* Ernains of Munster; so called from their original settlement in Brefny, beside the shores of Lough *Erne*, whence they had dispossessed a *Belgic* tribe, also denominated Ernains, in the same vicinity. It is curious to observe that when this Belgic tribe was expelled from Brefny, it located itself in that part of Kerry, from which it was again driven forth by the same Milesian tribe, themselves now exiled from Ulster by the Clanna Rudhraidh of the race of *Ir*. This expulsion took place in or about A.M. 3920, under *Deaghaidh*, the son of Suin, descended from Olioll Erann, of the line of Fiacha Fer Mara, son of Aongus Turmach, king of Ireland, 150 years B.C. The reigning monarch at the time of this exodus was Duach, of the race of Heber, known in history by the name of *Dalta*, or the "fostered" of Deaghaidh, who had adopted him. This prince bestowed upon his foster-father possessions in *Luachra*, the then general name of Kerry, a large portion of which obtained from him the name of *Luachair Deaghaidh*. In about a century later, that part of Luachra lying north of the Maing river, received the designation of *Ciarraighe Luachar*, or *Ciar-rioghacht*

(Ciar's kingdom), from *Ciar*, the son of Fergus Mac Roigh and Meabh, queen of Connaught, who obtained territories in it. The descendants of Deaghaidh gradually extended their power and authority over West Munster, and several of them obtained the sovereignty of the whole province, to the exclusion of the Heberian line. As the *Ua* Deaghaidh, or *Degadii*, they were noticed by Ptolemy in the second century, in their proper territory in West Munster, under the name of *Udei*, or *Vodii*, which very nearly expresses the pronunciation of Deaghaidh. Better known by the name of Clanna Deaghaidh, they occupy a prominent place in the military history of the time, as one of the three warrior-tribes who represented the rude chivalry of the period. The others were the *Crobh ruadh* (red hand),[d] of Ulster, and the *Gamanraidhe* of Irrus Domnann in Mayo. Deaghaidh had three sons, *Iar*, *Daire*, and *Conal*. From *Iar* descended a long line of princes, three of whom filled the throne of Ireland, viz., Eidersgeol, in A.M. 3695; Conaire Mor, his son, who died in A.D. 60; and Conaire the second (Mac Mogha Lamha), in the commencement of the second century. Eachaidh, otherwise Cairbre *Riada* (or "of the long arm"), so called from the widely separated territories possessed by him in Kerry and the *Route* of Antrim, was the son of the last named monarch, Conaire II. He flourished about A.D. 221, and gave name to the territory of Dalriada, in the north east of Ulster. He is the *Reuda* of Venerable Bede, and passed over into North Britain, where he established a colony known in history as the Dalreudini. From him have descended the Scotic kings of Albany, and, in the 57th generation, her Majesty Queen Victoria.

Dairc, the second son of Deaghaidh, had by his wife Maoin, or Moran Mannagh (*i.e.* of the Isle of Man), a son Conri, much celebrated for his valour and prodigious strength:

"Moran of Mana, of honor pure,
Was the child of Ir, son of Uinnside,
The sister of Eochaidh Ecbeol she,
And mother of Curigh, son of Dari."

[d] The Craobh dearg, the name of the ancient chivalry of Emania, has been variously translated as signifying the *red hand* or *red branch*. O'Halloran, Dr. O'Donovan, and others, favour the latter interpretation; Dr. O'Conor, the former. The last-named writer, in the "Bibliotheca MS. Stowensis," p. 37, and in the Rer. Hib. 1. prol., denominates the Ultonian warriors the "Heroes of the *bloody hand*," and quotes Aldrobandus, *de Ornithilogia*, Lib. 1, as saying that the Red Hand appears as the most ancient arms of Ireland. Dr. Lynch, Camb. Evers., p. 250, may be cited in favour of this reading in the instance of Cathal Crobh Dearg, king of Connaught, in the 12th century, whose name is Latinised Cathaldus, a rubro *carpo*. It is well known that the Red Hand is the ancient armorial ensign of Ulster and the O'Neills. It is found on a sculptured stone cross, at Monasterboice, of an early age; and it is therefore more likely that the Craobh ruadh rather derived their name from a standard of this kind, which we find identified with their province, than from an improbable *red* branch. This emblem was of very general and wide-spread adoption. The Romans bore it as a military ensign. It occurs on the monuments of Central America, and amongst the Moors of Northern Africa. An ancient cyclopean stone fort at the foot of the Paps mountain, in the county of Kerry, still bears the name of *Cuthair crobh dearg*. The similarity of the words *crobh* and *craobh* doubtless led to the mistake in rendering the name of the old Emanian warriors. Mr. J. W. Hanna, of Downpatrick, has been collecting evidences on this subject, which we trust he may soon be able to give to our archæological public.

Dari had also a daughter named Cingit, the wife of Aongus-Ossery, from whose second name the patrimony acquired by this Aongus for his posterity has ever since been called Ossory.

Conri in his time (about the era of the Incarnation) stood at the head of the chivalry of the south. He left issue a son named Lugha; but his successor in the government was Cairbre Finn Mor, son of the monarch Conaire the Great, the sixth in descent from Deaghaidh. Conri was treacherously murdered by his great rival Cuchullin; a deed subsequently revenged upon him by the above-named Lugha, who (according to O'Halloran) slew him in the battle of Muirtheimhne, fought at the commencement of the Christian era. Tigernach records this event briefly:—"The death of Concullain fortissimi herois Scotorum, by Lugaid, son of Conri, *(mc na tri con)* and by Erc, son of Cairbre Niafir." The interpretation of the term *Cu* or *Con*, common to Conri and Cuchullin bears a varied sense, either as signifying a *king*, a *chief*, a *hero*, or a *dog*. It enters frequently into the formation of Irish names, as *Cu Uladh*, *Cu Conacht*, *Cu Mumhain*, *Cu Midhe*, *Cu Bladhma*, *Cu Caisil*, the hound or hero of Ulster, Connaught, Munster, Meath, Slieve Bloom, Cashel, respectively. We have it also in *Cu Cichri*, hero of the boundary or frontier, *Cu Sleibh*, of the mountain, *Cu Maigh*, of the plain, *Cu Reilgeach*, of the cemetery, *Cu Mara* and *Cu Fairge*, sea hound, *Condulig*, the greedy. The word, says one writer, is "derived not from the baser, but from the nobler qualities of the animal" (the dog), and Dr. O'Donovan tells us that it was a designation of honor; but it has not been unreasonably supposed by those who have studied the vestiges of our ancient pagan religion and mythology, that it was something more, and had relation to an early worship kindred to that of the Egyptian Canouphis, or Anubis, the dog-deity. In the system of Irish Fetichism, or animal-worship, so little studied or understood by the mass of our archæologists, there is no doubt but that of the dog formed a part; and it is very probable that those various *Cu's* and *Con's* may indicate a local priesthood. In this sense *Con-ri* may signify a royal priest. We find the names of deities entering into those of kings and princes in Egypt and Assyria; thus *Nebo*, the name of the Babylonian god, is found in Nebopulassar, Nebuchadnezzar, &c. The Egyptians represented both Anubis and his priests with dogs' heads. Mac Con, one of our ancient pagan monarchs, may in this sense be understood as the son of Con, *i.e.* the dog-deity. Cu-chullin is connected with the extraordinary mythical piece, the *Tain bo Cuailgne*, hitherto regarded, as it would seem erroneously, as a detail of a cattle raid, but which some with more probability consider as the narrative of a great religious war or feud.

Towards the end of the second century, the power of the Munster Ernains became much diminished. Eoghan Mor, of the Heberian race, after a long exile in Spain, returned to Ireland, and renewed the pretensions of his house to the sovereign authority of the province, from which it had been long excluded. He not only succeeded in establishing his claims, but even compelled the *Ard-righ* himself, Con of the hundred battles, to divide with him the government of the whole island. Olliol Olum, the son of Eoghan, followed out his father's policy with equal vigour and

success. Under him the ancient Heberians resumed their ancient ascendancy. The Degadians were first signally defeated by Eoghan, in a battle fought at *Carn Neimhidh*, in the great island of Cove, in the County of Cork; and again by Olliol, in A.D. 186, at *Ceann feabrat* (now Ballyhoura), near Buttevant, in the same county. In the latter fight, Nemeth, son of Sroibhcrinn, king of the Ernains, aiding Mac Con, was slain. The descendants of Deaghaidh, however, retained extensive possessions in West Munster down to the Anglo-Norman period; amongst them are enumerated the O'Falvies, O'Sheas, O'Connells, O'Cullenans, O'Fihillys, as well as the O'Flynns and O'Donegans of Muskerry.

From these historical details we may now return to the legendary tale of Conri's tragical fate.

Being of a martial and enterprising disposition, he had sought glory on land and wave, at home and in foreign countries; whilst, in addition to his personal courage, he possessed a profound knowledge in the art of necromancy, often found of use to him in hours of peril. His deeds formed the theme of many ancient romances. Amongst these Urard MacCoisi mentions one called *Cath-buadha Conree*—the victories of Conri; and two others, *Aitheach Blathnaide inghine mine mic Fiodhaich la Conchullain*, and *Orguin Cathair Conraoi*. In *Cath Magh Rath*, Congal Claon mentions, amongst other ancient battles named by him, "The seven battles around *Cathair Conrui*," also the "Plundering of Curoi, with the seventeen sons of Deaghaidh." These MSS. are now supposed to be lost. He was treacherously murdered by Cuchullin—the Cuthullin of MacPherson's Ossian,—nearly three hundred years before the time assigned by that ingenious "translator," who commits the grave anachronism of making Cuthullin coeval with his "Fingal," who, according to our annals, was killed A.D. 273. The circumstances of this tragedy form the subject of a romantic narrative given by the Irish Livy, old Geoffrey Keating. Curi had learned that the heroes of the Red Hand or Branch had undertaken an expedition into *Mana* (the Isle of Man), and, being informed by fame of the surpassing beauty of *Blanaid*,[e] the daughter of its ruler, resolved to join in the adventure, but deemed it prudent in so doing to assume a disguise. He found Cuchullin,[f] the commander of the Emanian Knights, at *Dundealgan* (the modern Dundalk); and, aided by favouring breezes, the invading fleet soon reached the Manx shores. The island chieftain offered a stout resistance, but was at length compelled to retire within his fortress to protect his daughter and his treasures, resolved there to abide the chances of a siege, and weary the patience and the ardour of his formidable assailants. Cuchullin made several attempts to storm the Dun, but without success; and seeing but little chance of carrying it, he called a council of his followers, by whom it was resolved to raise the siege and abandon the enterprise. It was then that Conri offered his services, and undertook to reduce the fortress, provided he was entrusted with the whole command, and got his choice of the plunder. The proposal

[e] O'Flaherty, in *Ogygia*, calls this lady Lonncada, and says she was the mother of Euryal Glunmar, from whom his posterity obtained the name of Cruithne or Picts. Her father was uncle to Curi.

[f] Cuchullin was himself a descendant of the Ernains.—[*Ogygia.*]

was readily accepted. Conri, who was as brave as he was experienced, soon effected the capture of the stronghold, and, amongst the booty found within it, the fair Blanaid was not deemed the least valuable prize. He of course claimed the lady as his; but Cuchullin, already in love with her, false to his engagement, denied his title, but offered at the same time any other portion of the spoils he desired. Conri, however, insisted on his right, and finally found means of carrying her off by his art, as he had not otherwise sufficient force to contend openly with the Ulster chieftain. When Cuchullin discovered his loss, he pursued him with the utmost speed, and overtook him at the pass of Sulchoid (near the present Junction of the Limerick and Great Southern and Western Railways), a place remarkable as the scene of many battles in after ages. Here the pursuer and pursued agreed, in order to save the effusion of the blood of their followers, to fight singly for the lady, consenting that she should belong to the victor. The fight lasted for an entire day, and terminated in the overthrow of Cuchullin. Conri, however, spared his life at Blanaid's request, but tied him neck and heels, and with his sword cut off his hair, as the greatest mark of ignominy and degradation that he could inflict on his enemy, as well as to put it out of his power to renew the contest for a considerable time. This was but poetical justice, as Cuchullin sacrificed his honour by the breach of his engagement before the capture of Blanaid.

Conri now returned triumphantly into Corcaduibhne, with his fair and blooming prize, amidst the rejoicings of his clansmen, the Clanna Deagha.

In the meantime, Cuchullin after his defeat betook himself to the solitude of *Beinne Boirche*,[g] where for nearly a year he concealed himself, brooding over his disgrace and misfortune. At the end of that period his hair had grown again; and one day observing the flight of birds which had arrived from the northern sea, the hero pursued them, and by a feat called *tathbheim*, he killed one of them with his sling in every district he passed through, until the last of them fell at *Srubh Broin*, in West Munster. It was in this expedition that he made the wonderful leap at Loophead, near the mouth of the Shannon, which still bears the name of *Leam Cuchullin*, or Cuchullin's leap.

Returning towards Ulster, Cuchullin unexpectedly met with the fair Blanaid, on the banks of the Fionglais. From her he learned how much better she was affected towards himself than to Conri, whom she hated. She also pointed out a means for her own deliverance, and entreated him to come at a time appointed, supported by a strong force, and carry her off. Cuchullin forthwith repaired to the court of his kinsman Connor, King of Ulster, to seek the required assistance; whilst, in his absence, Blanaid suggested to her husband the design of building a palace upon the mountain for their residence, which should exceed all other buildings in the kingdom; and, in order to make it more noble, and the better to provide materials, she thought it not improper, since he was at peace with his neighbours, to employ his armed retainers to gather all the stones of large size that

[g] *Ben*, a peak, a mountain summit, same as the *Pen* of the Cumraig, as at *Pen* maen mawr. The Celts of Italy bestowed the term on the Penine Alps and the Appenines.

could be procured for the construction of the building. Her design in this was, that the experienced warriors of Conri should be dispersed at the time that her rescue should be attempted. In an evil hour, her too confiding husband adopted her suggestion; and it was when all the Clanna Deagha were absent that Cuchullin arrived and concealed himself with his forces in a wood that bordered the base of the mountain. Blanaid, becoming aware of this, availed herself of a practice which Conri had of taking a siesta after dinner, and, whilst he slept, abstracted his sword. She then gave her lover a preconcerted signal, by pouring a pail of milk into the stream, which when Cuchullin saw running white (whence its name of *Fionglaisse*—white rivulet), he forced his way to the Cahir, and slaying the sleeping Conri, hastened with his recovered mistress into Ulster.[h] Blanaid, however, did not long survive this black perfidy. Feirchertne, the bard of Conri, (some of whose compositions have descended to our time,) faithful to the memory of his master, avenged upon her the treachery of which she had been guilty. He followed her to the north, and found her one day walking on the edge of a rock called *Rinchin Beara*. Seizing the opportunity, he rushed upon her, and clasping her in his arms, flung himself with her down the precipice, and thus both perished together. They were buried at the foot of the cliff, and the place has been since called *Feart Blathnaid agus Feircertne.*

Instances of such devoted fidelity are not singular in Irish story. Many centuries afterwards, Fingal, a naval commander, in the memorable fight with the Danes off Dundalk, rivalling the patriotic self-sacrifice of the Roman Curtius—

"Plunged with the foe beneath the surge,
Clasping in death the ruthless Dane;"

whilst two of his companions followed the noble example. "Dulce et decorum est pro patriâ mori."

It is not a little curious that the same legend of Conri and Blathnaid is associated with another locality in the south-western part of Kerry. Near the shore of Lough Laoi or Currane, adjoining Ballinskelligs Bay, a circular stone fort is shown, which also bears the name of "Cathair Conri," and beside it flows a streamlet called in like manner *Fion-glaisse.* The peasantry say that this is the genuine scene of the old tale, maugre any averment to the contrary. Nevertheless, the authority of honest Geoffrey Keating, and the locality of Slieve Mis, to which the manuscripts assign the situation, must outweigh the pretensions of the southern claimants.

[h] In the Book of Leinster, it is stated that the *Lecht*, or monument of Conri, is on Slieve Mis; and Dr. O'Donovan (in *Cath Magh Rath,)* says it is still to be seen on the north-east shoulder of the mountain. A *Tuireadh*, or elegy on Conri's death, composed by his faithful bard Feircheirtne, is still extant in one of the MSS. in Trinity College, Dublin. In the British Museum (Egerton, 88) is also a tract on the same subject, entitled *Adhaigh Conroi*, the death of Conri. Another old account relates that, after Cuchullin had murdered Conri, he and his Ultonians set fire to the Cahir, and slew fifty of its inmates, and that the returning Clanna Deagha, when they saw the fire, knew that their king was in danger, and each of them cast down the *cairthe* which he carried, and now to be seen standing or prostrate in every part of Erin.

In the vicinity to the north of the Cahir at Slieve Mis are two dark tarns, *(dubh lochain,)* lying deeply in a hollow of the mountain. One of these is regarded by the mountaineers as unfathomable, although its real depth does not exceed twenty feet. This lakelet derives an additional interest from a legend in the *Leabhar na h-Uidhre*, (p. 73,) one of our oldest MSS., now deposited in Trinity College, Dublin. This relates that the pool was once infested by an enormous *piast*, (serpent or dragon,) one of those mythical beings connected with ancient serpent-worship, supposed to tenant so many of our lakes and rivers. This *piast* was destructive to the inhabitants of the fortress and to their cattle. On the occasion when Cuchullin had arrived and was watching his opportunity, he heard at midnight the approach of the monster towards him. "These be no friends of mine," said he, "that come here," and he fled before it until he overleapt the rampart of the Cahir, and found himself in the centre of the place at the door of the king's dwelling. The manuscript adds that the impression of his feet remained afterwards on the stone which lay at the door; but of this there is no present trace. The adventure is probably an episode of allegorical significance, introduced in connexion with a personage whose whole history is mixed up with religious myths of the densest obscurity.

The tale of abduction bears upon it the impress of a very remote antiquity. It was always a favourite, in hall and cottage, of a people delighting in fiction—one of those romantic compositions which may have had some foundation in fact, but was probably more indebted to the inventive faculty of the bard. "The story is true," writes O'Flanagan, (in *Trans. Gael. Soc.*, p. 51,) "though the detail is fabulously embellished; for this highly mental people," he adds, "loathed and disdained a barren and jejune narrative."

GLEANINGS IN FAMILY HISTORY FROM THE ANTRIM COAST.

THE MAC NAGHTENS AND MAC NEILLS.

THE progenitors of the MacNaghtens and MacNeills formed part of that swarm of Scots which alighted on the Antrim coast in the sixteenth century. They came, as most other immigrants of that period, under the auspices of the MacDonnells. Multitudes from the Highlands and Isles of Scotland followed the fortunes of Alexander *Carrach*[a] MacDonnell, encouraged by his genius as a military leader, and the protection which his influence in Ulster was able to secure. To that chieftain, indeed, wily and fierce though he was, may, to a large extent, be ascribed the introduction of the Scottish element into our population, which afterwards, in more peaceful times, contributed so much to the prosperity of this northern province.[b]

The MacDonnells, with their connexions and adherents, in coming to our coast, were seeking a country from which their ancestors, the Dalriadic colonists, had gone forth upwards of a

[a] The epithet *Carrach*, or *scabbed*, was frequently applied to Irish chieftains also. Dr. Reeves, in his "Account of the Crannoge of *Innishrush* and its *Ancient Occupants*," (Proceedings of R. I. Academy, vol. vii. p. 163,) mentions several instances in which it was employed to designate chiefs of the O'Neills, who lived between 1387 and 1586. The several corrupted forms of this epithet, as applied in the sense of nicknames, have puzzled most readers of our earlier Annals. Mr. Hans Hamilton, in the Preface to his admirable *Calendar of State Papers*, lately published, asks distractedly, "is *hairy*, or *harry*, or *charric*, or *charrie* the right way of spelling the epithet at the end of the long name *Alexander Oge McAlester Charrie?*"

[b] The late Rev. Dr. Reid, in his excellent *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, chap. 1, note 5, describes the Scots who came with the MacDonnells in the sixteenth century as "*piratical marauders, and Roman Catholics, from the western islands*," and takes occasion to warn his readers that they are not to be "*confounded with those who came over at the Plantation of Ulster.*" But although the former were soldiers, compelled to follow their chiefs when summoned, they were something more. They were industrious folks, who made the most of their own barren hills, and who, when they came to Antrim, soon proved their natural adaptation to agricultural pursuits. When Sir Henry Sidney visited the North, in the year 1575, he seems to have been rather taken by surprise, on witnessing their comfortable condition. In writing to the Council in England, he says: "The Glynns and Route I found possessed by the Scottes, and nowe governed by Sorley Boy. *The comntrie fulle of corne and cattle, and the Scottes very hawtie and proud, by reason of the late victories he hath had against our men, fynding the baseness of their courage.*"

Now, we venture to affirm, that those earlier comers, —although "*Roman Catholics*," and, to some extent, "*marauders*,"—will contrast favourably with the people who came at the time of the Plantation. Of the latter, the Rev. Andrew Stewart has left the following record:— "From Scotland came many, and from England not a few, yet all of them, generally, *the scum of both nations,—who from debt, or breaking, or fleeing from justice, or seeking shelter, came hither, hoping to be without fear of man's justice* in a land where there was nothing, or but little, as yet, of the fear of God." The writer of the above was Presbyterian minister at Donaghadee from 1645 to 1671, and thus able to speak from personal knowledge on questions of this nature. He is not likely to have exaggerated the sins of his own people. Dr. Reid cites him frequently, and has honestly quoted the passage given above.

thousand years before. From about the middle of the third to the beginning of the sixth century, various companies of emigrants departed from the Antrim shores, and eventually succeeded in forming a kingdom in North Britain, which included Cantire, Knapdale, Argyle, Lorn, Braidalbane, and the Western Isles or Hebrides. Among these early invaders of Britain were ancestors of the MacDonnells, and of the other principal Scottish families who came with them to Antrim in the sixteenth century. It is curious that, during the violent disputes between the Earls of Antrim and Argyle, in the reign of Charles I., Antrim laid claim to Argyle's estates in Cantire, which, the former declared, had belonged to his family for *thirteen centuries*,—or from soon after the settlement of the first colony in Britain, under Cairbre Riada, in the year 258.

But although the MacNaghtens and MacNeills came to the Antrim coast during the chieftainship of Alexander Carrach MacDonnell, they cannot be said to have had local habitations or names here, until the time of his grandson, Randall MacDonnell. The latter, if not the most distinguished, was certainly one of the most fortunate, of his race. Although a rebel and an outlaw in his youth, his age was crowned with honours. His elder brother, James, died at Dunluce, in March, 1601; and Randall, who had married the daughter of the great insurgent chief, Hugh O'Neill, continued with him as an active coadjutor, until the final struggle at Kinsale convinced him of the utter ruin of the native cause. He had taken the family position of his brother James, probably according to the arrangement in such cases required by the tanist law; but he had also seized the inheritance which his brother's eldest son afterwards claimed as the rightful heir. By a timely submission to the Government, Randall was permitted to hold the estates; and although the English law regulating succession to property was immediately afterwards introduced into this country, the nephew was unable to assert his claim.[c] Randall's submission to the Government was, no doubt, the more

[c] This young man did not submit to be thus set aside without a vigorous attempt to uphold his claim. It would appear that he appealed, in the first instance, to the newly introduced law of England, regulating succession to estates, but was met by his uncle on the plea that James MacDonnell had not been legally married, and that his children, therefore, were illegitimate. It is said that there exist certain curious manuscript documents relating to this question in the possession of descendants of James MacDonnell. The original of the following "Certificatt" is preserved among the Records of Carrickfergus, and is the only document, so far as we know, that has yet come to light in connexion with that grave family dispute. It was printed in McSkimmin's *History*:—

"Knowe all men to whom these presents shall come to be heard, reade, or seene, that we, Gory McHenry and Cahall O'Hara, Esqnyers, doe hereby testifye, that we weare present when Sir James McDonell, Knight, was married unto Mary McNeill, [rather O'Neill,] of Galchoane, in the O'Neve, in the lands of Clandonels, beyonde the Bande, by the Lord Bishop; and that Donell Oge McFee and Bryan O'Lavertyc, with divers others, were present at the said Marriadge, and knoweth thereof: and this is the cause of our knowledge that Alexander McDonell is the lawful sonne and heir of the said Sr. James McDonell, Knight.—Witness our hands, this 26th of Februarij, 1609.

"Cahall O'Hara,
his marke."

"G. McH."

The above seems to have been a highly respectable docu-

cordial, as Elizabeth had died, and was succeeded by James VI. of Scotland; for the chiefs of the Clan Donnell in Ulster had always yielded whatever amount of allegiance they could conveniently afford to the Scottish rather than to the English monarch. This fact was not unknown to James, and was not without its effect in quickly establishing cordial relations between his Government and the Antrim chief. The result was, that the latter, during the very first year of James's reign in England, (1603,) received a plenary grant of the Route and Glynns, a territory extending from Larne to Coleraine, and comprising about *three hundred and thirty-four thousand acres*, statute measure. These vast estates included the parishes of Coleraine, Ballyaghran, Ballywillen, Ballyrashane, Dunluce, Kildollagh, Ballintoy, Billy, Derrykeighan, Loughgill, Ballymoney, Kilraghts, Finvoy, Rasharkin, Dunaghy, Ramoan, Armoy, Culfeightrin, Layd, Ardclinis, Tickmacrevan, Templeoughter, Solar, Carncastle, Killyglen, Kilwaughter, and Larne, together with the Granges of Layd, Innispollan, and Drumtullagh, and the Island of Rathlin. The Antrim property, as originally granted to Randall MacDonnell, thus comprehended seven baronies, viz.: North-East Liberties of Coleraine, Lower Dunluce, Upper Dunluce, Kilconway, Carey, Lower Glenarm, and Upper Glenarm.

The lord of these broad lands, therefore, may well be described as a fortunate man, when it is remembered that not only had he done nothing to earn this magnificent grant from the English Government, but he had actually spent his youth in open and formidable rebellion. Cairbre Riada, a prince descended from the same family as the MacDonnells, had been granted, by the monarch of Ireland, in the third century, the territory extending along the Antrim coast, from the present village of Glynn to Bushmills, as a reward for his valour and fidelity in extinguishing a Pictish

ment, and it certainly places the fact of the marriage in a very clear and indisputable light. At an Inquisition held at Ballymena, in 1639, the name of "Cahall O'Hara, of L. Kane, Gent," is mentioned as one of the grand jury. The McHenrys ranked also among the gentry of that period. James, probably the son of "Gory" above-named, was a rebel leader in 1641, and was present at the battle of the *Laney*, near Ballymoney, on Friday, the 11th of February, 1642.

The family of Mary O'Neill (probably grand-daughter to Bryan Carrach O'Neill,) was of noble rank; and it is not likely that she would consent to live with Sir James McDonnell on any other than reputable and legitimate terms. She was descended from *Aedh Buidhe*, or Hugh Boy I., who was the founder of the house of Clannaboy, and whom the O'Neills of Shane's Castle and the Bann-side claimed as their common ancestor. He was slain in 1283, and succeeded by his son Brian, who also was slain, in 1295. After him came, in succession, Henry O'Neill, Muircertach O'Neill, Brian Ballogh O'Neill, and Aodh Buidhe, or Hugh Boy II., who was slain, in 1444. His successor, Brian O'Neill, died of small pox, in 1488, and was followed by Domhnall Donn, the founder of the *Clandonnells*, mentioned in the marriage certificate already quoted. He was succeeded by Shane Dubh O'Neill; and Shane by Cormac O'Neill. Cormac's successor was Brian Carrach O'Neill, who died about 1586, leaving two sons and at least one daughter. This account of Brian Carrach's descent is abridged from a most interesting paper by Dr. Reeves, printed in the Proc. of the R. I. Academy, vol. vii. p. 215.

Alexander MacDonnell was probably soon convinced that he had nothing to hope from going to law with his uncle: and, therefore, he appealed, in the second instance, to arms. This still more hopeless attempt was made in 1614. Of the details we know nothing, farther than that the insurrection caused some uneasiness to the Government, and ended without bringing redress to the party aggrieved.

rebellion throughout Ulster; but Randall MacDonnell received the much larger and more valuable possessions above mentioned, simply because he laid down his rebellious arms in good time, and with a good grace, when all hope of being able to wield them successfully had perished. The Government, however, had no reason to regret or repent its generosity in this instance; as Randall, from the moment of submission became, and continued to be, a loyal subject and a steady co-operator with the constituted authorities in the promotion of all measures supposed to be for the improvement of the country. Having obtained full and legal possession of his estates, he rejoiced to see the barbarous old customs of Tanistry and Gavelkind swept away, and the Brehon Law, in all its branches, utterly abolished. His object was now to enjoy his property in peace, and to improve it for transmission to his children: so it may be imagined with what delight he witnessed the institution of circuits in Ulster, and the advent, twice in the year, of itinerant judges, for the due and regular administration of justice. Honours were showered in quick succession on this fortunate descendant of Heremon; and perhaps, in the long line of ancestral chiefs, few, if any, were permitted such undisturbed enjoyment of life as he. In May, 1618, he was created Viscount Dunluce, a title drawn from the well-known castle on the coast, from which his father, Somhairle Buidhe, or Sorley Boy, had expelled the MacQuillans. In June, 1619, he was admitted as a member of his Majesty's Privy Council in Ireland, and at the same time appointed to the command of a regiment. In December, 1620, he was created Earl of Antrim. The grant of lands received from James I. was confirmed by Charles I. To promote peace and improvement on his estates, the first Earl of Antrim gave extensive fee-farm grants to the heads of certain Scottish families of respectability, whose ancestors had occupied such lands during the latter part of the sixteenth century. He also introduced a number of other families from Scotland, in addition to those already settled. To provide comfortable positions for the latter, the Irish population was either removed to barren districts —of which there were many on the estates—or transported to other parts of the kingdom.[d]

[d] Among the people thus removed was the remnant of the MacQuillans, once the reigning family in the Route. As a sort of equivalent for what they had lost, James I. granted them lands in the barony of Innishowen, which had formed part of the estates of the great rebel chief, Cahir O'Doherty. Sir Arthur Chichester was the chief agent in arranging this matter with the unfortunate Rory Oge MacQuillan. The latter was unable to face the difficulty of transporting all his wretched people over the Bann and Lough Foyle, and Chichester craftily persuaded him to cede his title to the barony of Innishowen, by an offer of certain lands very inferior in value, but lying nearer the Route. This transaction is recorded in a manuscript possessed by the Antrim family, and cited by the Rev. William Hamilton in his *Letters concerning the Northern Coast of the County of Antrim.* The concluding passage, as quoted by Mr. Hamilton, is as follows:—"The estate he [MacQuillan] got in exchange for the barony of Enishowen was called *Clanreaghurkie*,* which was far inadequate to support the old hospitality of the MacQuillans. Rory Oge MacQuillan sold this land to one of Chichester's relations; and having got his new granted estate into one bag, was very generous and hospitable as long as the bag lasted. And thus was the worthy MacQuillan soon extinguished."

* "At present," (1790) adds Mr. Hamilton, "it is called *Clanaghurtie.* The descendant of MacQuillan is still to be found there among the lowest rank of the people, and only distinguished from his neighbours by the ludicrous title of *King MacQuillan.*" "*Tulit alter honores.*"

Among the Scottish families thus specially encouraged were the *MacNaghtens*, whose representative then was *Shane Dhu*, or Black John MacNaghten, the Earl's chief agent and faithful assistant in all matters connected with the regulation and improvement of the Antrim property. Indeed, their families were closely allied by intermarriages in Scotland. The MacNaghtens claim a long line of ancestors, not a few of whom were illustrious in their generations; and there is scarcely a period of the written or legendary history of Ireland and Scotland in which this name, in some form, does not appear.

In the Books of Lecan and Ballymote are two accounts of the first appearing of the *Cruithnians*, or *Picts*, in Ireland. These legendary histories—one of which is written in prose, and the other in verse—were added to the *Historia Britonum* of Nennius, probably about the year 1050, and have been translated by the Rev. Dr. Todd in connexion with that work. To the above very curious tracts we are indebted for the earliest existing notice of the progenitor of the MacNaghtens. According to both accounts, the Picts originally came from Thrace. The company or association of colonists consisted of three hundred and nine persons, under the superintendence of six brothers, one of whom was named *Nechtain*. Another of the brothers, called *Trostan*,[e] was the Druid or priest of the expedition. They came in three ships; and, unlike other colonists, who generally landed in Britain and from thence reached Ireland sooner or later, the Picts steered direct for "Eri, the delightful." Here they became a powerful tribe, so much so, indeed, that *Heremon*, the first king of the Scoti in Ireland, bribed them to depart, lest they should eventually become so strong as to dispute his sovereignty, and "make battle for Teamhair [Tara] as a possession."

Whoever was the original chronicler of these events, which were passing about a thousand years before the Christian era, he evidently regretted the departure of that Pictish colony from Ireland. After describing, in terms somewhat obscure to modern apprehension, what he considered their superior civilization, the ancient writer exclaims, as if in the spirit of regret :—

"They passed away from us
With the splendour of swiftness,
To dwell by valour
In the beautiful land of Ile."

Whilst in Ireland they had taught, "in a fair and well-walled house," certain branches of knowledge, which our translators term "necromancy and idolatry, druidism, plundering in ships, bright poems," and which probably constituted a course of education in astronomy, navigation, general literature, and religion. "Among their sons were no thieves"—a very excellent and rare quality among human beings. "Hills and rocks they prepared for the plough," which was a solid argument for their remaining in Ireland. But they were compelled, according to the terms of

[e] This name still survives, as applied to a mountain in the neighbourhood of Cushendall, on which there are the remains of an ancient *Cairn*.

their arrangement with the Irish monarch, to take their departure, carrying with them their knowledge and industry to Isla, the principal island of the five which anciently constituted the *Ebudae* or *Hebrides*. Isla was the ancient *Epidium;* and in mediæval times was, for a long period, the principal place of residence for the Lords of the Isles. Of the four other islands then constituting the *Hebrides*, two were called Ebuda, one Malos (Mull), and one Rhicina (Rathlin). These islands now constitute what are known as the *Inner* Hebrides, lying close to the Scottish coast, and separated from the outer group by the channel called the *Minch*. The four principal ones were Isla, Skye, Mull, and Jura, besides others of much smaller dimensions. The fact that *Rathlin* was regarded as one of the five islands known as the Ebudae, is evidence of its early importance. Its position must, indeed, have rendered it a very much frequented place during those remote times, when colonists were moving so incessantly between the shores of Eri and Alba.

From the Hebrides the Picts afterwards spread themselves over the greater part of Scotland, and became a powerful people. They were the chief opponents of the Dalriadic colonists, and succeeded occasionally in expelling the latter from North Britain. In the long list of Pictish kings we find the name of *Nechtain* occurring more than once; and the family, no doubt, occupied a high position during the whole period of the existence of the Pictish nation.

Before leaving Ireland, the Picts requested Heremon to grant them wives from among his subjects, as a means of perpetuating the alliance then formed; and promised, at the same time, that on the posterity of the women thus granted, all the future Pictish acquisitions would devolve. This arrangement seems to have been the groundwork of the Pictish polity ever afterwards. There is a curious passage from Solinus,[f] quoted by the writer of Appendix xvii. to the Irish version of the *Historia Britonum* of Nennius, which evidently implies the existence of this peculiarity. The passage is as follows:—

"As you go from the Foreland of Calidonia (the Mull of Galloway) towards Thyle, in two days' sail you reach the islands of Hebudae, five in number, of which the inhabitants subsist on fish and milk. They all (the islands) have but one king, for they are divided by narrow waters from each other. The king has nothing of his own: all things belong to all. Fixed laws compel him to equity; and, lest avarice should pervert him from truth, he learns justice from poverty, as having no private possessions. But he is maintained at the public expense. No wife is given to him for his own; but he takes for his use, by turns, whatsoever woman he is inclined to, *by which means he is debarred from the wish and hope of having sons.*" This account is substantially confirmed by the venerable Bede, who, in his monastery at Weymouth, near Durham, on the borders of the Pictish territories, had ample means of knowing the political constitution of their empire. He dwells particularly on the preference given to the female line, from the earliest record of the

[f] Solinus is supposed to have lived in the first half of the third century, and to have adopted pretty freely the opinions and statements of Pliny on geographical questions. Pliny names Rathlin *Ricnia*.

Picts as a nation,—a preference founded, no doubt, on the original arrangement represented by the legendary account as having been entered into prior to their departure from Ireland, with their three hundred wives.[g]

From the nature of the Pictish polity in this respect, it is evident that no family, however influential, could aspire to a permanent, or even frequent, occupation of the throne. The fact, however, that the *Nechtain* race furnished *three sovereigns*, at long intervals, to the nation, is evidence that they were one of the governing families in Pictland. The first was *Nechtain-mor-breac*, who reigned thirty-four years. To him succeeded eight kings, derived from different families; and the ninth was Nechtain II., who reigned twenty years. This sovereign, about the year 608, founded the church of Abernethy. After him came nine sovereigns, from nine various families; and the tenth was another *Nechtain*, who reigned ten years. When the Picts became powerful as a nation in North Britain, they returned once more to the coasts of Ulster, and in Antrim they were able to establish themselves from the sea to the shores of Lough Neagh. Their rebellion against Cormac O'Cuinn, monarch of Ireland, in the third century, led to the expulsion of their colonies from Ulster, but did not prevent their occasional hostile incursions; and from that period to the end of the eighth century the annals of Ireland record many fierce encounters between them and the northern Irish. During the period now mentioned, the Nechtains figure in the Annals of Ulster as chiefs, having the prefix *Mac* to their names, denoting *offspring* or *descendants*. We read of the slaying of a *MacNaghten*, in the year 634; of the battle of *Druim-Nechtain*, in 685; of the death of *Fergus MacNechtain*, in 689; of the death of *Alpin MacNechtain*, in 692; and of several conflicts between the Cruithnians, or Picts, and the people of Ulster, in which members of this family were engaged. One of the earliest recorded names of Newry is *Iobhar Chinn Choiche mhic Neachtain*.[h]

When the Dalriadic kingdom in North Britain finally absorbed the Pictish possessions, in the reign of Kenneth MacAlpin, the *MacNechtains*, or *MacNaghtens*, re-appeared as one of the oldest and most influential of the Scottish clans. Their territory lay in Argyleshire, and, as thanes of Lochtay, they ruled supreme on the shores of Lochfine and Lochaw. Alexander III. of Scotland issued a patent, granting to *Gillechrist MacNaghten* and his heirs the Castle and Island of *Fraoch Eilen*, (Heath Island,) on condition that he would rebuild the castle, and keep it in proper condition for the reception of the king, should the latter at any time be disposed to claim its keeper's protection or hospitality. This patent is said to be still in existence; and there

[g] The following is the passage in the legend, referring to this arrangement:—

"There were oaths imposed on them,
By the stars, by the earth,
That from the nobility of the mother,
Should always be the right to the sovereignty."
—*Hist. Britonum*, page 141.

[h] See the *Battle of Magh Rath*, as translated by Dr. O'Donovan, page 277.

is an anecdote in connexion with it to the effect that, in the year 1745, one of the MacNaghtens took forcible possession of the castle, (which then belonged to the Campbells,) and fitted it for the reception of the *Pretender*, hoping that he might give him a call! Duncan MacNaghten is mentioned in the annals of his time as in league with MacDougal, the Lord of Lorn, against Robert Bruce, at the battle of *Dalree*, for which he lost a portion of his estates. Sir Alexander, a descendant of Duncan, fell at the battle of Flodden. He was grandfather to *Shane Dhu*, or Black John MacNaghten, who, as above stated, was kinsman to the first Earl of Antrim, and became his principal agent in the management of the estates.

John died in 1630, leaving one son, Daniel, who married a niece of the primate, George Dowdall. The children of this marriage were, a son, John, who inherited the family estate and resided at Benvarden, near Ballymoney, and two sisters, married respectively into the families of Willoughby and MacManus. John married Helen Stafford, sister to the Right Hon. Edward Francis Stafford, of Portglenone. He was succeeded by his son John, who married a Miss MacManus, and was for many years a popular and respected magistrate in his own neighbourhood. The latter died, when his son and successor, John MacNaghten, was only a child six years old. The career of this son was melancholy, and his fate appalling. He was born about the year 1722, and educated first at Raphoe, and afterwards in Trinity College, Dublin. Even while attending school he became addicted to gambling, and continued a slave to that vice until it finally led to his ruin. He was compelled, when very young, to sell a part of his estate and mortgage the remainder, in order to meet his gambling debts. His first wife was a daughter of Dean Daniel, and sister to Lady Massereene. Her husband's reckless conduct was the cause of her death,—an event, however, which he sincerely deplored. His affairs soon after became desperate; but he still had influential friends who pitied him and helped him. Lord Massereene obtained for him the appointment of collector of taxes for the County of Coleraine, worth upwards of £200 a-year; and Mr. Workman, who had married his sister, became his security in a bond of £2,000. In less than two years he lost this situation, having embezzled £800 of the public money. In an evil hour, Andrew Knox, Esq., of Prehen, near Derry, invited the now friendless MacNaghten to spend a few weeks at his house, until some other situation might offer. He instantly formed the design of marrying Miss Knox, a girl of only fifteen years of age, but an heiress in her own right. MacNaghten induced her to read over with him the marriage ceremony in the presence of a third person, and then claimed her as his wife. Her father of course, resisted, and finally set aside the claim in the Court of Delegates. When Miss Knox was afterwards being removed to Dublin, accompanied by her father and mother, MacNaghten, with a servant and two tenants, surrounded the carriage on the road, about three miles from Strabane, for the purpose, as he alleged, of rescuing his wife. Mr. Knox was attended by two or three men servants, well armed, and a scuffle instantly ensued on the carriage being stopped. Several shots were fired by both parties. MacNaghten, having been wounded in the back, came

forward and fired deliberately into the carriage, with the intention of shooting Mr. Knox. The contents of the gun, however, entered Miss Knox's side, and she died after a few hours of agony, during which she uttered no complaints against any one, and only prayed fervently to be released from suffering. This melancholy affair occurred on the 10th of November, 1760. The names of MacNaghten's three associates were, George McDougall, James McCarrell, and Thomas Dunlap. Two hours after the murder, MacNaghten was taken after a fierce struggle, in which he first endeavoured to shoot his captors and then himself. McDougall and McCarrell escaped, but Dunlap was caught in a house at Ballyboggy, near Benvarden. He and his master were imprisoned in Lifford jail until the 11th of the following December, when they were both tried, found guilty of the murder, and sentenced to death. When sentence was pronounced, MacNaghten implored the judges to have mercy on Dunlap, whom he spoke of as "a poor, simple fellow, his tenant, and not guilty of any crime." MacNaghten's defence of himself at the trial drew tears from many eyes; and his general deportment afterwards was such as to make him an object of interest to the people of the town and neighbourhood of Lifford. No carpenter could be found to erect the gallows, and an uncle of Miss Knox, with the assistance of some friends, was obliged to provide one, rather than see the criminals hanged from a tree; the smith who knocked off the hand-cuffs from MacNaghten, as a preliminary to the execution required by law, did so under compulsion; and the hangman had to be brought all the way from Cavan. MacNaghten conducted himself with the greatest coolness and dignity, declaring repeatedly that the anticipation of death was much more dreadful than the reality. To make his exit as easy and speedy as possible, he adjusted the rope securely on his own neck, and ascended to the very top of the ladder before throwing himself off, that the struggle might thus be terminated in a moment. The rope broke! The immense crowd uttered a triumphant shout, and urged him to escape, making way for him in all directions. But no. He calmly remounted the ladder, remarking, as tradition affirms, that no one would ever have to point at him or speak of him as *half-hanged MacNaghten*. The rope was knotted and adjusted as before, and after having done MacNaghten to death, it was removed to perform the same office for his wretched tenant and associate in crime. Their bodies were buried in one grave, behind the church of Strabane.

On the death of John MacNaghten, who left no children, the Benvarden property was sold, and passed out of the family. He had a younger brother, who visited him twice during his imprisonment, and who became the founder of the Ballyboggy branch of the family. The MacNaghtens of Bushmills descend from an uncle of the unfortunate John MacNaghten, who was born in the year 1678, and was the first person of the name who owned the Beardiville property. From his uncle, the graceless nephew had large expectations; but his conduct so thoroughly disgusted the old gentleman that he determined his property should not pass to a person unworthy of his name. To make this matter certain, the uncle married a young wife when he himself had

attained the patriarchal age of eighty-two. This lady was the daughter of John Johnston, Esq., of Belfast. Mr. MacNaghten settled his estate upon her during her life, provided she had no family: and this arrangement is said to have rendered the nephew desperate, and to have hastened the catastrophe in which he so ignobly perished.

The patriarchal owner of Beardiville had two sons born to him, lived until he had entered on his *one hundred and third year*, and assisted at the family celebration observed on his younger son's coming of age. He remembered the siege of Derry quite distinctly, and could enumerate the names of the tenants on his father's estate who were present in the Maiden City during that memorable time. He was succeeded by his son, Edward Alexander MacNaghten, born in the month of August, 1762. This gentleman was one of the representatives of the County of Antrim in the Irish Parliament for many years. He obtained another distinction, which, although unsubstantial, was perhaps gratifying. His kinsmen of the sept of MacNaghten in Argyleshire elected him to the chieftainship of the clan, and this honour has descended to his successors. A patent was issued, and duly registered in the Herald's Office, conferring this dignity, in the year 1832. This very unusual proceeding was not brought about by any solicitation from Mr. MacNaghten, but simply from a conviction on the part of the clansmen that his rank and position would enable him to uphold the honours of the name more worthily than any Scottish gentleman then connected with the family. It was done on the old *tanist* principle, and is perhaps worth mentioning as one of the latest illustrations of that law with which we are acquainted. It is not improbable, however, that similar cases may still occur among the remnant of the clans in the North Highlands of Scotland. The laird of MacNaghten had lost the greater part of his estates by joining Montrose; and extravagance and negligence afterwards completed the ruin of the Scottish branch. The last laird was evicted from the remnant of the estates by relentless creditors, and for small debts, the sum total of which did amount to more than half the value of his little patrimony. His eldest son became a captain in the Scottish foot guards, and closed his life "on a blood-red field of Spain." His younger son obtained an appointment as a custom-house officer, and died in obscurity, at some port on the eastern coast of Scotland. So, the shores of Lochfine and Lochaw know them no more; and their ancient castle of *Dunaraw* has disappeared from the rock which it occupied through so many stormy centuries, on the western side of the former of these lakes.[1]

Whilst the Scottish branch of the family thus decayed, the plant that had taken root in Irish soil became every year more vigorous and flourishing. Edmund Alexander MacNaghten, of Beardiville, died in 1832, after reaching the seventieth year of his age. He was succeeded by his brother, the late Francis Workman MacNaghten, born in 1763. At an early period of his life, the latter selected the East as the field of effort; and when he retired, he bore away from this field an ample harvest both of honours and riches. In 1809 he received the honour of knighthood, on

[1] See Buchanan's *Ancient Scottish Surnames*, pages 67 & 68.

being appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court of Judicature, at Madras. In 1815 he was transferred from Madras to the more responsible and remunerative position in Bengal. In 1825 he returned to his native place, and enjoyed the remainder of his long life as country gentlemen with ample means generally like to do—in plantings and prunings—immured in rural blessings and recreations, with occasionally the variety of presiding on the magisterial bench of the nearest village. In 1836 he was created a baronet, and bore his honours becomingly until his death, which occurred in 1843, when he was eighty-eight years of age.

In 1787, he had married Letitia, the daughter of Sir William Dunkin, another successful Indian lawyer, who had risen also to be a judge in the Supreme Court of Judicature, at Calcutta, and retired at last to spend the evening of his days at Clogher, near Bushmills. This marriage was blessed with a numerous family, as the following list will show:—1. Sir Edmund Charles, the present baronet. In 1827 he married Mary, the only child of Edward Gwatkin, Esq. He is a barrister-at-law, and at the time of his father's death, was a Master in Chancery, at Calcutta. 2. William Hay, of the Bengal service, who was created a baronet in 1839, and assassinated two years afterwards, at Caubul. 3. Francis, in the Bengal service, and married to Miss Connolly. 4. Elliot, of the Supreme Court of Judicature, Calcutta, and married to Miss Law. 5. John Dunkin, a cavalry officer, in the service of the late East India Company. 6. Stewart, of the Middle Temple. 7. Anne, married to the Rev. Richard Olpherts, and since dead. 8. Eliza Serena, married to Major Sewell. 9. Letitia, married to David Hill, Esq., of the late East India Company's civil service. 10. Matilda, married to John Trotter, Esq. 11. Jane Russell, married to Thomas Gowan Vibart, Esq., of the Bengal service. 12. Maria, married to Thos. Roberts Thellusson, Esq. 13. Caroline, married to Alfred Chapman, Esq. 14. Alicia, married to George Probyn, Esq. 15. Ellen. 16. Hannah.

The second son, Sir William Hay MacNaghten, was British envoy to the Shah Soojah, at the time of his death, which happened on the 23rd of December, 1841, in the 48th year of his age. He was assassinated by Mohammed Akbar Khan, the son of the celebrated Dost Mohammed. On pretence of entering into amicable arrangements with the British authorities, the Indian chief invited Sir William to a conference. The latter consented, and went to the place of meeting, accompanied by four officers and a small escort. Soon after the opening of the meeting, Mohammed Akbar drew a pistol and shot him dead. Captain Trevor, one of the four officers, was cut down in attempting to rescue his chief; the other three were taken prisoners. MacNaghten's head was cut off, and paraded throughout the town, the mouth filled with a portion of his mutilated body, and the nose surmounted with the green spectacles he had worn when living. "Thus perished," says Kaye, (the historian of the *War in Affghanistan,*) "as brave a gentleman as ever, in the midst of fiery trial, struggled manfully to rescue from disgrace the reputation of a great country. Whatever may be the judgment of posterity on other phases of his character and other incidents of his career, the

historian will ever dwell with pride upon the unfailing courage and constancy of the man who, with every thing to discourage and depress him, and surrounded by all enervating influences, was ever eager to counsel the nobler and manlier course, ever ready to bear the burdens of responsibility, and face the assaults of danger."

The original burial-ground of the MacNaghtens, on their coming to Ireland, was *Bun-na-Mairge*, near Ballycastle. In the south wall of what was once the grand chapel of the monastery, and at a little distance to the right of the entrance to the Antrim vault, the following inscription, on a large red free-stone slab, is still legible:—

" HEIRE · LYETH · THE · BODIE · OF · JHN · MNAGHTAN ·
FIRST · SECTARIE [SECRETARY] · TO · RANDAL · FIRST · ERLE · OF · ANTRIM, · WHO · DEPARTED · THIS · MORTALITIE
IN · THE · YEAR · OF · OUR · LORD · GOD · 1630 . "

The above is the epitaph over the grave of Shane Dhu (Black John) MacNaghten, already mentioned. Bun-na-Mairge has been long abandoned by the family as a place of sepulture.

THE MAC NEILLS.

The MACNEILLS of the Antrim coast descend from the Hy-Niall race, many of whom undoubtedly emigrated to North Britain in the Dalriadic movement already referred to. Indeed, it may be safely asserted, that to a prince of their race that movement was mainly indebted for its ultimate success. The Cruithnians or Picts were sometimes more than a match for the Antrim colonists in Scotland; and on one occasion the latter were expelled almost to man, and forced to return to the Irish Dalriada, under the guidance of their prince, *Eochy*, or *Eochad Muinreamhair*. During the century which followed this expulsion, many attempts were made by the Irish to re-establish themselves on the opposite shores. All these efforts, however, were without success, until the *Hy-Niall* (O'Neills,) became the ruling power in Ireland, and sent forth a sufficient force under the command of *Loarn*, the son of *Erck*, the son of *Eochad Muinreamhair*, which not only reconquered the lost territory in North Britain, but added other possessions. It is curious how these historical events are corroborated by a passage in the *Vita Septima Sancti Patricii*, published by Colgan in his *Trias Thaumaturga*. The author of that *Life* of the saint states that, while Patrick went about preaching Christianity from place to place, he came to the Glynns, in which the family of the above-mentioned Muinreamhair ruled, at the very time he was writing, probably about twenty years after the saint's death.

The Hy-Niall race of princes, notwithstanding some serious faults, were always popular. They all, more or less, felt the responsibility inseparable from the position of rulers, and accepted the elevation to regal authority as a trust to be held for the security and happiness of their subjects. History has not failed to record this admirable qualification, which, even at the present day, is so

seldom found among the great ones of the earth. When the descendants of these princes reappear as chiefs of the MacNeills of Scotland, they still, after centuries of change and vicissitude, retain much of the same generous nature. The MacNeills of *Barra* (from whom the extinct Antrim branch descended,) are represented as maintaining the most harmonious relations among themselves as a clan. The chief and his people were always mutually attached to each other; the former holding himself bound to compensate the clansmen for any losses suffered by them from misfortune or war. As landlord, he also provided for the support of such as were unable, whether from sickness, accident, or old age, to make provision for themselves. The result of this ancient, unwritten, but perfectly valid arrangement may be easily supposed. The MacNeills, as a clan, were proverbial for loyalty to their chiefs. Philosophical tourists to the Island of Barra, whilst deprecating the stern and suspicious bearing of the natives towards strangers, are loud in praises of their union among themselves, and their uncompromising fidelity to their chiefs. The principal fortress of the clan was situated on the little isle of *Kismul*, near Barra, in which a watchman and constable were stationed day and night. These functionaries were so faithful to their trust, that neither book-compilers nor prying philosophers could succeed, even by the most earnest entreaties, in gaining access to the building during the absence of the chief. The watchman for the time being was required to call out at intervals, if for no other purpose, at least as an evidence of his vigilance. His announcements, moreover, were expected to be made *in rhymes*, which were handed down, cut and dry, from generation to generation. It is quite certain, however, that the MacNeills had *bardic* tendencies from nature, as their clan was celebrated for supplying some of the most favourable specimens of the class known as *harpers* in former times. The hereditary harpers to the *MacLeans* of Dowart, in Mull, were MacNeills. One particular family of the latter furnished bards, in succession, to the clan Ranald (MacDonnells) for the space of nearly six hundred years. The last was Lachlan MacNeill, who, in establishing his right to certain lands, declared on oath, before Roderick MacLeod, Esq., J.P., and a number of clergymen, that he was the 18th in descent whose ancestors had officiated as bards to the MacDonnells of the Isles; and that they enjoyed, as salary for their office, from generation to generation, the farm of *Staoiligary*, and four pennies of *Drimisdale*. Their duties were, to preserve and continue the genealogy and history of the MacDonnells. This gentleman was styled bard, genealogist, and seanachaidh. Dr. MacPherson, in a letter to Dr. Blair, describes Lachlan MacNeill as "a man of some letters, and who had, like his ancestors, received his education in Ireland, and knew Latin tolerably well.[k]

The MacNeills, on coming to the Antrim coast, had no settled place of residence; but, like others of their countrymen similarly circumstanced, kept moving about in the Glynns, as suited their convenience in those troublesome times. On the suppression of Tyrone's rebellion, more

[k] See Logan's *Scottish Gael*, vol. i., pp. 185, 383; vol. ii., pp. 217, 268. Where in Ireland were those Gaelic bards prepared for their work?

peaceful years ensued. One of the earliest grants made on the Antrim property was that which conveyed the lands constituting the *Ballycastle Estate* to Hugh MacNeill. Tradition affirms that MacNeill had previously resided by the side of the old road leading from Cushindall to Ballycastle, and that the grant in the fertile region around the latter town was given to him in consideration of assistance or service rendered to the MacDonnells on some emergeney, the precise nature of which is not known. The grant is dated on the 9th of November, 1612, and it describes Hugh MacNeill as of *Dunynie* eastle, constable and gentleman. This castle, the ruins of which still exist, was the prineipal residenee in the district at that period; and, judging from its solid masonry, as well as its position on a eliff more than three hundred feet above the sea, it must have been a formidable fortress. It stood about half-a-mile west of the present town of Ballyeastle, and the place is now known as *Dun-na-Neenie*. The names of the several lands, as recited in this grant, are as follow, viz.: "The townland of *Ballrentinney;* the quarterland of the *Brumemore* and *Liscallen;* the quarterland ealled *Drumnacree,* and quarter of *Ballyvarnyne;* the quarterland ealled *Dromand;* the quarterland of *Ballyenige;* the forty aeres of *Clancashan;* the five aeres of *Craigmore;* and the five aeres land of *Port Bretts;* together with the eonstableship and keeping of the market towns or villages of *Dunynie* and *Ballyeashan,* with the customs thereof."

Brummemore is now *Bromore,* and *Liscallen* is known as *Cnoc-na-Cellach. Dromand* has ehanged slightly to *Drummans.* The forty acres of *Clan-Cashan* included the village of Ballycashan, which afterwards beeame the town of Ballyeastle. *Port Bretts* was the landing-plaee in *Marketon* (or more eorreetly *Mairge-town*) Bay, and must have been a plaee of some importance even so reeently as the date of this grant, whieh stipulates that Sir Randall MaeDonnell and Lady Alice O'Neill, his wife, were to have the eustoms of "wynne, oil, and aqua-vitae," arising from the trade in these eommodities. The village of *Dunynie* has wholly disappeared from the hill. It was originally ereated, no doubt, by the eombined influence of the eastle and of the fair whieh was held near it in former days. *Port-Bretts* is a eorruption for Port-*Britus,* or Port-*Britas,* a name which is now obsolete in all its forms, but whieh we have seen written *Portbrittis,* and oeeasionally *Portbritas,* in old rent-rolls and other papers of the Antrim estates in the seventeenth eentury. It may, perhaps, have been originally derived from *Britus,* whom the Irish legends represent as of the family or raee of *Nemedh,* one of the earliest colonizers of Ireland. For some reason whieh we have not seen explained, the Irish legend adds the epithet *Maol* to Britus; and it is eurious that the earliest reeorded name of this northern part of the ehannel between Ireland and Seotland is *Sruth-na-Maoile,* "the eourse or current of the Moyle." If that famous eolonist has thus left his name in eonnexion with the ehannel, he must have lived at a very early period, as Sruth-na-Maoile has had time since his day to become the seene of an ancient mythologieal romance. On its waters, the three daughters of *Lir,* ehanged into swans, were doomed to sojourn until the dawn of Christianity in Ireland, when the first sound of the "church-going bell" was to be the signal for their release![1] The poet

[1] See *The Ulster Journal* of *Archæology,* vol. i., page 230.

Moore has enshrined this old faith—or fable if you will—in his beautiful song of *Fionnuala;* having first met with it, he says, "among some manuscript translations from the Irish, which were begun under the direction of that enlightened friend of Ireland, the late Countess of Moira." *Fionnuala* was the name of one of the doomed daughters of Lir; and the poet represents her as thus, naturally enough, expressing her anxiety to be relieved from Sruth-na-Maoile:—

"Sadly, oh Moyle, to thy winter-wave weeping,
Fate bids me languish long ages away;
Yet still in her darkness doth Erin lie sleeping,
And still doth the pure light its dawning delay."

If Port-Britus, however, does not actually bear the name of an early Nemedian colonist, the place must have been so called from the fact of its being known as a port available for purposes of trade and emigration between this country and Britain. The name may have thus come originally into use so early as the first century, when many of the inhabitants of Britain sought a refuge on these shores, to live peaceably beyond the reach of the Roman legions which then advanced victoriously from the south. *Richard of Cirencester* is said to have preserved certain curious notices of the British emigration into Ireland, at the period now mentioned, but we have not had an opportunity of consulting that early chronicler. With respect to the motives which induced the Britons thus to seek a home in Ireland, the prevailing opinion is, that they preferred the comparative quiet and security of this country to the numerous changes, in the shape of improvements, which the Romans were introducing into Britain. The emigrants—or rather, in this case, immigrants—were content to bid adieu to their old homes, rather than encounter the insolence of their conquerors; and sought the Irish shore, "that they might not lose sight of that liberty in their old age, which in their younger years they had received pure and uncorrupted from nature."[m]

The Dunynie grant stipulated that Hugh MacNeill was to pay "nyne pounds" rent yearly, in two equal payments, at the first day of November, and the first day of May; and also a fair proportion of the rent payable to the king out of the Route and Glynns. He was to forfeit five shillings per day for every day the rent remained unpaid after it became due; and at the end of fifteen days, his "chattels were to be pryced by four sworn men, and sold for the amount due." In case of non-payment of rent for a whole year, the grant became null, and the landlord would be at liberty to resume the possession of his lands. Should the tenant "alien" any part of the lands, without permission from the landlord, or should he or his heirs "misbehave themselves, either in obedience, troth, or loyaltie," they would thus forfeit their title to the estate. MacNeill and his heirs were bound, by the terms of the grant, to do suit and service to the *Courts Leet* and *Courts Baron* established on the landlord's estates; and should they take any cause for trial into the sheriff's court, they would subject themselves to

[m] Camden's Britannia, page 342, of the Edition of 1723.

a penalty, for so doing. They were farther required to have their grain made into meal at the mill of the landlord, paying toll and multure to the same; and to appear at every general *Hosting*, with as many men and arms as were proportioned to the extent of their lands.

The only remaining point in this document worthy of notice is a clause which reserves to Sir Randall MacDonnell and Lady Alice O'Neill the right of residence, should they wish it, at either or both of the villages of Dunynie and Ballycashan. They availed themselves of this privilege eighteen years afterwards, (at least in reference to the latter place,) where they erected a castle, (1628-1630,) being attracted to the locality, no doubt, by the surpassing beauty of its natural scenery. On this spot stood the castle of James MacDonnell, which was stormed and taken by Shane O'Neill, in April, 1565. Shane's celebrated letter, giving an account to the Lord Justice of his great victory over the Scots, is dated from *Boile-Caislein*, on the 2d of May, in that year. In this letter, O'Neill describes his sudden march upon the Scots—his conflict with Sorley Boy as he approached this town and castle, which he states belonged to James MacDonnell;—the siege of Boile-Caisclin;—the arrival of forces from Scotland, and the occurrence of a great battle, in which James and Sorley Boy were taken prisoners, and their brother Angus slain, with 700 or 800 Scots.[a] The place has since exchanged its old name for the more modern one of *Ballycastle*. The position was, indeed, tastefully selected. The whole beautiful vale extending to the beach was one open space, and formed a part of the castle park. Besides the grand coast scenery north and east, the castle commanded a full view of that charming Glen between Armoy and Ballycastle, along which was the ancient path of communication from the former place to the coast. In this castle, the family of the first Earl of Antrim occasionally resided; and at his death, in 1636, his Countess, with her two daughters, removed from Dunluce, and lived at Ballycastle until the end of 1641. There are still a few lingering traditions of Alice O'Neill in the place, none of which are particularly complimentary to her memory. An old gentleman, the last male representative of the once powerful family of MacAlaster, of Kinban Castle, used to tell an anecdote of the Lady Alice, which, he said, had been handed down in his family. On one occasion, the body of a dead infant was found in the immediate vicinity of the castle. There was something like an investigation as to the cause of the death, required by the new laws and arrangements introduced at the time of the Plantation of Ulster. The countess, who cherished her family hatred of everything *English*, was of opinion that there

[a] See *Calendar of State Papers*, just published, and so ably edited by Hans C. Hamilton, Esq., page 260. Shane O'Neill's letter does not name the *field of battle;* but the *Annals of Ireland* state that it was *Gleann-taissi*, or *Gleann-taoise*, which has been generally supposed to be *Glenshesk*. Although this glen was the scene of many such conflicts, there are one or two circumstances which tend at least to weaken the conclusion that it witnessed the battle now referred to. It is much more likely, for instance, that O'Neill would advance on Ballycastle by the glen on the north-western side of *Knocklayde*, stretching from Armoy, than through Glenshesk, whose approaches were not, certainly, very tempting to a large force. The stream in the glen leading from Armoy is now called the *Tow*, and the ancient *Gleann-taissi* or *taoise* would be anglicised *Glen-Tow*, not *Glenshesk*.

was a great deal too much fuss made about so small a matter as the death of an infant. She is reported to have exclaimed *in Irish*, "The devil! Why all this parade about a dead infant! Often have I seen such things at my father's castle!" °

We find that the grant was signed, "*Randal MacDonnell*," and "*John Steward*, × his marke, as a Ffeoffee." The latter signed as a witness. He was the first settler of the name of Stewart in the parish of Ballintoy; and, although in the rank of a gentleman, he was evidently unable to sign his name. This inability, however, was not remarkable in an age when even the gentry, particularly of the Scottish Isles, had no time to devote to literary refinement. The poorest peasant on the Ballintoy estate, at the present day, would be an overmatch in the art of writing for the distinguished original "Ffeoffee" who has left his scratch by way of mark on this old deed.

On the ninth of December, 1612, just a month subsequently to the date of the grant, it is recorded on the document that John MacNaghten, "a true and lawful attorney," gave possession to Hugh MacNeill of the townland of Brummemore (Bromore), in the name of all the other lands specified. One of the witnesses to this proceeding was "Henry Quinne." The name of the other is rather a puzzle; it looks like "*MacGwillen T.*"—probably a MacQuillan. There are still a few very poor families of this name in the parish of Ramoan, but they are now called *MacQuilkins*.

The MacNeills of Dun-na-neenie Castle continued to hold their lands in peace during the life of the first Earl of Antrim. In the time of the second Earl, they were required to furnish supplies of men to the "Hostings" against the Irish rebels of 1641, a duty to which their political sentiments cordially prompted them.

In the time of the third Earl, who was a very determined Roman Catholic, some difficulty arose as to the MacNeills' title to their property. Certain law proceedings, the precise nature of which I cannot ascertain, were instituted by Hugh MacNeill, a son of the gentleman named in

° During the time of the great rebellion conducted by Hugh O'Neill, father to the Countess of Antrim, dead children were no uncommon sights; and living children were sometimes found eating their dead mothers! Sir Arthur Chichester's policy was, that "*hunger would be a better, because speedier, means of destruction to employ against the Irish than the sword.*" But, as far as possible, he wielded both with the most revolting and fiendish complacency. He speaks of a journey he made at this time, from Carrickfergus to the neighbourhood of Dungannon, along the banks of Lough Neagh, in the following terms:—"*I burned all along the Lough, within four miles of Dungannon, and killed* 100 *people, sparing none, of what quality, age, or sex soever, besides many burned to death; we kill man, woman, and child; horse, beast, and whatsoever we find.*" After detailing the circumstances of a similar journey into the Route, he concludes in these words: "*I have often sayd and written yt is famine that must consume them; our swords and other indeavours worke not that speedie effect which is expected; for their overthrowes are safeties to the speedie runners, upon which we kyll no multetudes.*"

This stolid monster, but famous statesman and soldier, died full of honours, and lies buried at Caraickfergus. The following lines are part (and only a very small part) of his wordy epitaph:—

"Within this bedd of death a Viceroy lyes,
Whose fame shall ever live; Virtue ne'er dyes:
For he did virtue and religion norishe,
And made this land, late rude, with peace to flourish."

The reader may see the whole production, prose and verse, in *McSkimmin's History of Carrickfergus*. (2nd edition, pp. 149, 151.)

the original grant. The defendants in the suit were the Earl of Antrim (Alexander MacDonnell), Daniel MacDonnell, Esq., and Æneas or Angus Black. These proceedings required the production of the old Deed of 1612; and accordingly it was produced at Bushmills, on the 28th of April, 1686, and sworn to as genuine by Robert Kennedy, Alexander Macaulay, Bryan (Bryce ?) Dunlop, Neal MacNeill, and Owen O'Mullan, Esquires. The witnesses to this act were Charles Steward, Robert Griffith, and John MacNaghten. The plaintiff in this suit had, no doubt, maintained his right and title intact, as the estate descended in due course to his son Daniel. The family of the latter consisted of two children, a son and daughter. The son did not inherit. One account states that he died before coming of age, and another that he was of unsound mind. The estate then passed to his sister, Rose MacNeill, who married the Rev. William Boyd, rector of the parish of Ramoan. The Ballycastle estate thus passed to the family of Boyd, in which it has remained to the present time.

There are other families of NacNeills on the coast, but if connected at all with the old line of Dunynie, it must be in a very remote degree. The late John Mac*Neale*, of Ballycastle, descended from Neale MacNeill, who, in 1686, was one of the vouchers, at Bushmills, for the genuineness of the old grant of 1612, as already stated. His family, probably, was the nearest collateral branch to the main stock. The original Hugh MacNeill, is represented, through his great grand-daughter Rose, by Hugh Boyd, the present owner of the estate, and Alexander Boyd, his brother, now residing at Ballycastle.

The family burying-ground of the MacNeills was Ramoan. In the north wall of this very ancient cemetery, there was a tablet to mark their graves, but the inscriptions are now illegible. The rector, William Boyd, who married Rose MacNeill, is also buried there. Their son, Hugh Boyd, built a church at his own expense in Ballycastle, having a vault underneath, which he himself was the first to occupy, and in which his successors are interred.

Belfast. GEO. HILL.

IRISH ETHNOLOGY.

We beg to direct the attention of our readers to the following communication, from one of the Editors of an important work now in progress, on the Ethnology of the British Islands. The subject is entirely in accordance with the objects of this *Journal*, and we feel every desire to co-operate in an investigation which must tend to throw considerable light on the origin of our population. It is well known that Ireland is now inhabited by the descendants of a great many races of people; and it is a fact, that several of these are still quite distinguishable from each other, either by personal appearance, names, or other characteristics. A traveller is at once struck with the difference of race apparent between the people, for instance, of Cork and Antrim, of Tipperary and Donegal, and can hardly believe that the stalwart County Down farmer, of Herculean proportions, is a countryman of the diminutive mountaineer of Mayo or Leitrim. History accounts for some of these differences, by having recorded the settlement of foreign colonies in various parts of the country, such as of Scotch Highlanders, on the coast of Antrim; Anglo-Saxons, in Wexford; and Norwegians or Danes on several parts of our shores; not to speak of the more recent colonies of Lowland Scotch, and French Huguenots; but these settlements have all taken place in a period within the reach of authentic history, and there is little difficulty in distinguishing the descendants of those several races at the present day. The population which preceded them is also known, from our ancient Annals, to have been composed of various tribes of distinct origin, and even their places of residence have been recorded; but no information has been yet collected to enable us to determine how far these tribes are represented by any portion of our present population. It is our belief that much can yet be done to throw light on this curious subject. Until a late period, various circumstances contributed to keep asunder the different races. One of the most powerful of these was the influence of the old system of clanship, and its consequent feuds and jealousies, perpetuated from generation to generation: and it is quite possible yet to point out on the map the districts where certain tribes lived exclusively, and where, in most cases, some of their lineal descendants still survive. The surnames (or what were formerly the tribe-names,) are here generally a sure indication of race: and nowhere, perhaps, in Europe are these so available for ethnological purposes as in Ireland. But changes are rapidly taking place, and no time is to be lost in recording the vestiges which remain. The breaking up of old local associations, caused by the extensive sales of estates to new proprietors, the destruction produced by the famine of 1845-1847, the vast and increasing emigration to America, and finally, the displacement of the population now daily caused by the facility of railway communication and the increase of our large towns, will soon obliterate all certain traces of former diversity of race. It is, therefore, highly desirable that

information should be collected without delay to assist the inquiries of the ethnologist. The nature of this information is indicated by the Queries proposed in the following letter; and it will be at once seen that it can be readily obtained, in most cases, by any intelligent observers residing in different parts of the country. Communications on the subject may either be addressed to this *Journal* for publication, or forwarded to the gentleman whose address is here given. [EDIT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE *Ulster Journal of Archæology*.

"DEAR SIR,—In reply to your polite and obliging inquiries, I have the pleasure to inform you that the object of the *Crania Britannica* is to rescue from destruction *the chiefest and most characteristic personal remains* which exist of ancient races of the people of the primæval period—the people of the cromlechs, cairns, tumuli, and barrows, whether ancient Hibernians or Britons, Caledonians, Picts, or Scots, Angles or Saxons, Danes or Northmen—of the British, Roman, or Anglo-Saxon eras;—to give to these as faithful and permanent a record as is attainable by modern art, and to illustrate them as fully as possible by anthropological science. Four Decades of the work have already seen the light, containing, in their forty full-sized lithographic figures of ancient skulls, a pretty ample exemplification of the whole subject; together with copious descriptions, accounts of ancient modes of burial, and of the various antiquities found in barrows and other tombs, (illustrated with numerous figures)—the whole being preceded by a text, the greater part of which is devoted to a dissertation on the ancient inhabitants of the British Islands, as they were known to the Phœnicians, Greeks, and Romans; their mode of life, moral characteristics and manners, dwellings, fortifications, architecture, clothing, personal decorations, armour and military equipment, metallurgy and other arts, basket-work, pottery, navigation, trade, coinage, religious institutions and temples, mythology, &c.

"The design of the book is entirely *national;* and the most liberal aid has been afforded in the way of specimens of crania and other antiquities, from all parts of the kingdom, especially Scotland. Ireland, however, stands alone in it, being represented by *one single skull,* viz. that from the Knock-Maraidhe cromlech, in the Phœnix Park, Dublin, solely from the impossibility of meeting with another example from the tumuli so profusely scattered over the island, in a suitable condition to be engraved. Such have been earnestly sought for, and are ardently desired, but can only be supplied by the active exertions and generous assistance of Irish archæologists themselves. At the present time, they will not yet be too late.

"In furtherance of the *Crania Britannica,* the circular which follows has been printed for private distribution, and for which a place is desired in the *Ulster Journal,* as a means of making it better known among those able to promote the objects in view.

"The importance of the investigation undertaken in the *Crania Britannica,* of the craniological and ethnological facts derived from the study of the physical and the physiological peculiarities of the

ancient and modern races—duly restrained within the limits of natural science—can be but faintly estimated by those who have watched the fanciful and erratic speculations founded on philological grounds merely. If indisputable solutions of problems which have puzzled all former investigators cannot be educed, at least reliable data will be collected."

"*A few Ethnological Queries,*

To serve as a Guide in collecting Information respecting the Inhabitants of the British Islands.

"Under the impression that the present inhabitants of the British Islands, especially in some of the more remote and exclusively rural districts, still retain the peculiar features of their lineage and descent, and may, before any further amalgamation is effected by the increased means of communication and intercourse now in use, be recognized, if not actually referred to their original stocks—the following Queries have been prepared to guide those persons who may have the kindness to render any assistance in determining this interesting problem.

"In carrying out the design of the *Crania Britannica*,* a work specially devoted to investigations regarding the ancient inhabitants of the British Isles, it has become apparent that any reliable accounts of the older populations now dwelling in districts which have for ages been little disturbed by the intrusion of fresh elements, would be of great importance and value. In order, therefore, to induce those observers who are placed in situations favourable for ascertaining the physical and other peculiar characters of the people surrounding them, to communicate the results of what they have perceived, these Queries are presented—with a view to facilitate the process and to suggest subjects of inquiry—under the persuasion that there are many who would be willing to aid so curious a scientific investigation, by supplying a few facts. However few and apparently unimportant such facts may be, they will be thankfully received, and when used, duly acknowledged. By accumulation and comparison, the value of such facts will be materially increased. The Queries are designed to suggest further research, and have no pretensions to exhaust a subject, which some more attentive students may see in its more enlarged bearings, and also be able to illustrate more fully.

"It would be well to extend the observations to at least *twenty adult males* of average character,—if selected, to be selected on account of the ancient settlement of their families in the district—and to state the number upon which special observations have been made. Where opportunity favours, a larger field of inquiry, as a parish, barony, or any natural division of conntry, might be advantageously taken.

* Crania Britannica. Delineations and Descriptions of the Skulls of the Aboriginal and Early Inhabitants of the British Islands; together with Notices of their other Remains. By Joseph Barnard Davis, M.R.C.S.E., F.S.A., &c., and John Thurnam, M.D., F.S.A., &c. In Six Decades of Ten Plates, Imperial Quarto, at One Guinea each Decade. Four of these have already been issued.

QUERIES.

"1. What is the *stature*, or average stature? Whether ascertained by measure? What is the minimum stature for admission into the militia of the county?

"2. What is the average *bulk* or weight? Are the people bulky or slender, as compared with Irishmen of other districts? Do they appear to present any peculiarities of figure, such as unusual length or shortness of limbs?

"3. What is the *character of the face?* Is it long, oval, broad, round, thin, short, florid, pale, light, or dark? Are the *cheek-bones* or the *brows* prominent? Is the *forehead* rounded or square? Is the *nose* long, straight, aquiline, short, or prominent? Is the *chin* broad or narrow, prominent or receding?

"4. What is the *colour of the hair?* Is it black, dark, brown, fair, or red? Can any proportion of these colours be given? Is it often curly? Is the body comparatively hairy or smooth?

"5. What is the *colour of the eyes?* Are they black, dark, intermediate, light, grey; or what is the proportion of these?

"6. What is the size and *form of the skull?* Is it large, small, or of moderate size, long or short, broad or narrow? The size is easily ascertained by passing a tape, graduated in inches and 10ths, round the head at its greatest circumference, viz., round the forehead, temples, and hindhead.

"7. Is it possible to obtain skulls, whether ancient or modern, of inhabitants of the district?

"8. Are there any photographs, prints, or drawings obtainable, which afford the portraiture of the people in a tolerably faithful manner?

"9. Are there any peculiar family-names? What are the most common names?

"10. To what race of people are the inhabitants of the district usually referred? Has any foreign colony ever settled in it? Has there been much immigration into it of late years? Do the inhabitants often marry with strangers, or have they kept their blood pure?

"Communications are requested to be addressed to,

Dear Sir, your obedient Servant,

J. BARNARD DAVIS."

SHELTON, STAFFORDSHIRE,
June 7, 1860.

ANTIQUARIAN NOTES AND QUERIES.

Ancient Horse Shoes.—The notice in your last Number [vol. viii., p. 73] of a wooden horse-shoe, has reminded me of a passage in one of Niebuhr's works, which shows clearly that the Romans could not have shod their horses with iron.—"Whoever has seen the ancient Roman high-roads, despises the wretched structures of modern time. They consist of polished polygons of basalt, so well fitted together that in many parts the point of a penknife cannot be passed between them: they are cut with great care, and must have been polished in a peculiar manner. The foundation was formed of large stones, over which was laid a stratum of mortar, then a layer of broken hard bricks, over which again a cement was poured, which completely hardened into stone. Upon this foundation the blocks of basalt were laid, with their lower surface cut perfectly smooth. If we were to build our roads now in the same manner, we should be obliged to sacrifice their external beauty, and cover them with sand; because, horses shod with iron would not be able to run on the surface, which is as smooth as a mirror. The horses of the ancients were not shod; and the mules had either a kind of wooden shoes, or soles of matting." Several instances have been adduced, by writers in this *Journal*, of iron horseshoes being found in Ireland, which seemed to be ancient; and a notice of horse-shoeing is quoted [vol. vii., p. 169,] from the Irish Annals, dated 1384. But unless it can be shown that the Irish had regular hard roads traversing the country, which would render such a defence of the foot necessary, I can hardly see the use of an iron shoe in a country proverbial for the moisture of its soil. Incredulus.

The public have of late become strangely enamoured of a misapplication of the word *excelsior*, borrowed from Mr. Longfellow's extremely popular little poem. That gentleman uses it in the sense of the Latin adverb *excelsius*; and the public have echoed him. I understand it is adopted as the motto of the State of New York, whose symbol, I believe, is the eagle. Now, it strikes me that *excelsior* is really meant for a divine person; and that the old settlers may have had in their minds such texts as that in Ecclesiastes, v. 8; where, in the old Latin version, we read, "*Excelso alius excelsior est.*" Likewise in Hebrews, viii. 26, "*excelsior cælis factus.*" There are also texts in which the English word "higher" occurs, as applied to the Most High; and which may, in some Latin versions, present "excelsior." *e. g.* Psalm lxi. 27; Psalm lxxxix. 27. Perhaps some of your correspondents may be able to supply the history and true meaning of this motto. S. T. P.

Having hazarded, in this *Journal*, p. 70, some remarks on the importance of seemingly trifling agreements in manners, customs, or arts, as indications of some connexion between nations in times long past, I instanced certain resemblances between Peruvian or Mexican objects, and Greek or Asiatic antiquities. I have lately happened to

meet (in the North British Review, No. LXI.) a case of likeness between an Egyptian symbol and an article found among the North American Indians on the Columbia River. In a review of "Wanderings of an Artist among the Indians of North America, by Paul Kane. London, 1859," the reviewer says:—"The well-informed reader will find more things in Mr. Kane's volume suggestive of the East—of Egypt and Nineveh—than the pipe-head, which, because of its portrait of the Egyptian sphinx, arrested his artistic eye." Such hints as this, collected, and compared with what we know, or may yet learn, of Asiatic and Egyptian arts and usages, may yet throw great light on the remote history of America. COSMAS.

HOGMANAY NIGHT.—Neither the Gaelic etymology given by Mr. DRENNAN [vol. vii., p. 216], nor the Norwegian one given by SENEX [vol. viii., p. 73], for this name, is satisfactory. If the former were correct, we should certainly find the word used all over Ireland where the Gaelic is spoken; but it is quite unknown. The Norwegian *Hög-nott* does not account for the two syllables *manay*. Now, the beginning of the new year was a great season of solemnity among the Druids. It is well known that, on the last night of the year, they went into the woods, with a golden hook, to cut the misletoe of the oak, which they afterwards distributed among the people to be worn, just as twigs are now given on Palm Sunday. The ceremony, like many other pagan ones, no doubt, continued to be practised long after the old religion was superseded by Christianity, and long after its origin was forgotten. Hence we find, to the present day, the custom everywhere prevalent in England of hanging up a branch of misletoe in the houses on Christmas day, under which the young men *kiss their sweethearts*, just as the Scotch youths do on Hogmanay night without the misletoe. The druids left behind them the same custom in Gaul; for Keysler mentions in his *Antiquitates Septentrionales* that, in Aquitaine, it is usual for boys to go about on the last day of the year begging money as a new year's gift, and crying *Au gui l'an neuf*, "To the misletoe ho! the new year," *gui* being the old French name of this plant. In the middle of the 16th century, we have accounts of companies of mummers going about in fantastic dresses, in different parts of France (like our Christmas rhymers), on the 1st of January during the *Fête des Fous*, and crying *Au gui menez*. Here we have a very near approach to the Scotch *Hogmanay*; and the long intercourse between Scotland and France may account for the introduction of a name which is not found either in England or Ireland.

OLLAMH FODHLA.

I wish to thank Mr. PINKERTON for supplying [in vol. vii., p. 206,] an example, which I wanted to find, of the occurrence in an old English writer of the word *Morian* or *Mooryan*, to denote a Moor, Negro, or Ethiopian. The majority of clergymen incorrectly read (in Psalm 68, v. 31,) "the Morians' land," instead of "the Mórian's land," (accented on the first syllable;) and few people think of inquiring how the Ethiopians of the Bible version came to be identified with the "Morians" of the common Prayer Book. S. T. P.

Herodotus [lib. i., chap. 200] says, of three tribes of the Babylonians, that they ate nothing but fishes, which they dried in the sun, then pounded them in mortars, and sifted the powder of them through linen cloths. To eat this, they kneaded it into cakes, or baked it into loaves. Now, I remember seeing in Lewis and Clarke's exploring Travels in North America, that they found Indians on the Columbia River who treated the salmon in the very same manner, and used it as food. This practice is so peculiar that the agreement in it by two races so widely separated appears to be more than accidental. COSMAS.

The following appeared in the French newspapers in April last. Perhaps some of your correspondents can procure more detailed information from the spot:—

"In the fortification works at Lille, an old Celtic grave has been lately excavated. No trace of bones was found; but an immense boulder, which, by its shape and inscriptions, was plainly recognized as a Druidic altar. *Hesus* and *Teutates* seem to have been the heathen deities to whom this altar was consecrated. Some of the inscriptions, it is said, leave no doubt that the Druids prophesied from the quivering flesh of the sacrificed prisoners of war. A golden sickle was found near the boulder, such as we read were used by the priests to cut the mistletoe from the oak tree under which the altar stood." R. Y.

ANSWERS TO QUERIES.

BATTLE OF AURA [Queries, vol. vii., p. 78].—Layd or Cushindall (Co. Antrim) was the residence of the MacAulays of the Glynns, who joined the standard of MacDonnell at the celebrated battle of Aura in 1569; after which the combined armies spent some days in festivity on the mountain of Trostan, on which they raised a memorial cairn, still called *Caslan Sorley Boy*. This sanguinary battle took place on the 4th of July, in the year mentioned, between the forces of MacQuillan and those of Sorley Boy Mac Donnell. It is described as having continued through the whole valley of Glenshesk, every yard of which was fiercely contested, and nearly the entire surface strewed with slain. Victory at last declared in favour of the MacDonnells, who thereby obtained possession of the castles and estates of the Mac Quillans. J. W. M.

THE LETTERS B AND V. [Queries, vol. v. p. 350] —The inquiry of H. P., with regard to the pronunciation of the Irish B, is not quite correct. The Irish language has still the letter B, (pronounced as in English, French, Italian, &c.,) but when influenced by certain causes, (explained in Irish grammars,) it becomes V. It is not possible to ascertain whether this has always been so. The probability is that, in every case where the letter occurs in an Irish word, except as an initial, it was anciently pronounced B, and has since, in many instances, assumed the softer sound of V. Thus, the Latin *diabolus* (devil,) has become, in Irish *diavol*, though the B is preserved in the spelling. With the initial B, the case is different; for, as all Irish scholars know, a change of meaning takes place in every word commencing with this letter the moment that it

is changed to v. Thus, *a bó* is "*her* cow," and *a vó* is "*his* cow." Hence, at all periods, the initial B must necessarily have had its hard sound when preceded by the feminine pronoun. But it is difficult to determine how the Romans and Greeks pronounced this letter. If we may judge by the modern Italian, (a lineal descendant of the Latin language,) there must have been an occasional tendency to pronounce it v. Thus, the Latin *habere* is represented by the Italian *avere;* the Latin *bibere* by the Italian *bevere*, &c. The confusion of the B and v among the Spaniards (whose language is also of Latin origin,) was long ago recorded in this epigram—

"Haud temere antiquas mutat Vasconia voces,
Cui nihil est aliud *vivere* quam *bibere*."

As regards the Greek, although we cannot consider the modern pronunciation of the language as a correct representative of the ancient, (since the present Greeks are a very mixed race,) still we can observe an early tendency to use B and v as nearly equivalent. When ancient Greek authors had occasion to use Roman names beginning with v, they always wrote them B; thus, *Varro* and *Virgilius* are Βαῤῥων and Βιργιλιος.

OLLAMH FODHLA.

RAP-HALFPENNY. [Queries, vol. viii., p. 65] —This is taken from the name of a German coin called a *Rap*, and worth about a farthing. In some of the Swiss Cantons it is of still smaller value, being only equal to the $\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{4}$th of our penny.

JEROME.

AUBURN. [Queries, vol. vii., p. 353]—The *auburn*-tree is the *alburnum*, or white-hazel; in French, *aubours*, and in Italian, *avornio*. I cannot agree with the derivation proposed by CELTIBER (vol. vii., p. 144,) for the colour *auburn;* a more probable etymology is the Italian *al bruno*.

REGINALD.

QUERIES.

Was bull-baiting ever a public amusement in Ireland? X. X.

What is the origin of *Collin Ward*, the name of one of the high hills near Belfast?

R. O.

At what period of our history were the present Irish names given to the townlands all over the country? ARTHUR.

Keating, in his *History of Ireland*, having related at large the manner of Conrigh MacDaire's death, states that Blanaid, his betrayer, went from Kerry into Ulster, with Cuchullin, and *there*, in retribution for her perfidy, was hurled from the cliffs of *Rinnchinn Beara* by Feircheirtne, the bard of the murdered chieftain, who pursued her thither for that purpose. Is there any place *in Ulster* which can be identified as having anciently borne this name? If so, where is it situated, and what is now its designation? In the County of Galway there is a place called *Kinnvarra*, where a Firbolg chief is said to have settled in the days of Conrigh; and, as there is a remarkable headland there, the prefix *Rinn* (promontory) might aptly have been applied to it. But what brought Connor, King of Ulster, and his court to the west of Connaught? B.

UNPUBLISHED POEMS RELATING TO ULSTER IN 1642-43.

By WILLIAM PINKERTON.

Amongst what are termed the "Additional Manuscripts," in the British Museum, there is a small quarto volume of Latin and English MS. poetry, which had formerly belonged to the late Sir William Betham. It is entitled *Fancies occasionally written on several Occurrances, and revised here, vidzt., from July the* 22nd, 1645, *to July* 28th, 1646. A short prose dedication, from the writer to his "trusty, honored, and no less obligingly indeared friend, E. P.," is dated Feb. 17th, 1647, and subscribed with the letters 'P. ff.' At the end there is the following memorandum:—"Gawen Paige ye 20th May, 1683, ex dono Gulielmi Kellet." In this volume there are four unpublished poems relating to Ulster, written at the eventful period of the early part of the Great Rebellion, by a person then serving against the Irish, in the regiment raised by the English Parliament, and commanded by Sir John Clotworthy.

I had not much difficulty in discovering who 'P. F.,' the writer of these poems, was. A Latin poem, on the battle of Marston Moor, in the same volume, is one of the first published works of a certain Payne Fisher, the author of an immense number of poems, pamphlets, &c., and a person of considerable literary notoriety in his day, though now almost utterly forgotten, and even the names of the greater portion of his works buried in not ill-merited oblivion. Payne Fisher, or Paganus Piscator, as, in the puerile pedantry of the period, he delighted to style himself, was son of a gentleman of the same name, who was Captain of the Body-guard to Charles I. He was born in Gloucestershire, at the seat of Sir Robert Neale, his maternal grandfather; and in 1634, when eighteen years of age, entered Hart Hall, Oxford, as a commoner. He subsequently removed to Magdalen College, Cambridge, where he exhibited considerable poetical talent, and took one degree in art; but, as old Wood[a] quaintly relates, "having a rambling head, he threw off his gown, went to Brabant, and trailed a pike in the garrison of Bolduc." Returning to England, he served as an ensign in the army raised by Charles I. to act against the Scotch. After that army was disbanded, he was appointed to an ensigncy in the regiment raised by order of Parliament, in December, 1641, to act against the Irish rebels, and commanded by Sir John Clotworthy. It is probable that, at this period, Fisher was more attached to the King's cause than his Colonel, for he only remained about two years in England, during which time he rose to be captain-lieutenant. In 1644, furnished with letters of introduction from the staunch Royalist, Colonel Chichester, he crossed over to England, and at once obtained a majority in the regiment commanded by Sir Patrick Curwen, in the

[a] *Athenæ Oxoniensis.*

King's service. He was at the battle of Marston Moor, where he was taken prisoner, and sent to Newgate. He found his confinement in that prison much worse than the hardships he suffered in Ireland, as appears by the following extract from a poem, in the volume already described, entitled *A Description on Newgate, upon my first Committment thither as a Prizoner of Warre:*—

(To my honored friend, Sir J. Clo. Knt.)

"When shall we meet again, Sir, and restoare
Those pristine Pastimes we found heretofore?
When shall we againe unkennel up those men,
Or rather Hydras, from their hell-deepe den?
Those Boggs, those Woods, through which I marcht and stood
Above my middle, both in Myre and Mudd,
Were nothing to my present griefs; to these
They were but Fictions and Hyperboles.
Fatal Glencontain, too, tho' cursed by some,
To this place sure was an Elizium."

Fisher, however, did not remain long in Newgate. He wheeled round to the Parliament party, using his prolific pen in their service, and subsequently styled himself the Poet Laureate of the Protector. At the Restoration he once more became a Royalist, but with little benefit to his fortunes. "He lived by his wits," says Wood, "which appear to have procured him but a scanty diet, arising chiefly from flattering dedications, and other implements of literary supplication." He was a long time confined in the Fleet prison, and died suddenly, in great poverty, in a coffee-house in the Old Bailey, in 1693.

The "honored friend and Coll. Sr. J. Cl.," to whom the first poem is dedicated, was certainly Sir John Clotworthy, not unknown in English history as a leading member of the Long Parliament, and an active agent in bringing the head of Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, to the block. I need scarcely observe to those even slightly acquainted with the history of Ulster that he was the son of Sir Hugh Clotworthy, the first of the family that settled in Ireland, his mother being a daughter of Roger Langford, Esq., of Moneymore. In "A List expressing the several Names and Entertainments of those to whome Annuities, Pencons, and Perpetuities are granted and payable out of the Revenue of Ireland, As it is contained in the Establishment for the said Revenue, beginning at Easter, 1618," we may find the following entry:—

"Sir Hugh Clotworthy and his sonne, upon the ceaseing of entertainement in y^e^ Establishment, for an Annuitie during their lives at vi^s^. viii. Ster. per die., upon sufficient caution to be given to the Deputie, for keepeing the Boates at Loughneagh servisable without further other allowance."

A postil, attached to the above, for the information of King James, relates that—

"These Boates were usefull and serviseable in the time of Tirone's Warrs. This Pencon was granted to him and his sonne dureing their lives, and the longer lives of them, the 2 Julie, in the 16 yeare of your Reigne, and this Pencon was brought into the Revenue by the last Establishment, being before paid out of the List."

After the death of Sir Hugh, his son, Sir John Clotworthy, succeeded to the "Captaincy of the Boates;" and at the breaking out of the Rebellion, Parliament, recognizing the valuable services that could be performed by this inland fleet, resolved, on the 27th of January, 1642—

"That this House hold it fit, that Sir John Clotworthy (as his father before had,) shall have the command of the bark and the boats to be provided for the defence and safety of the lough in Ireland called Lough Neagh, *alias* Lough Sydney, and that he shall have the like wages as his father had: And he is to build the hulls of the bark and the boates, and to maintain them at his own charge: But he is to have so much monie presently allowed him as shall be necessary for their rigging, according to the note agreed upon by the committee for the Irish affairs.

"Sir John Clotworthy is to have for this service as Captain 15 shillings per diem, his Lieutenant 4 shillings per day, the master 4 shillings per day, master's mate 2 shillings per day, master gunner 18 pence per day, two gunners 12 pence a piece per day, and 40 common men 8 pence a piece per diem."

The services performed by these boats were of the utmost importance to the English cause in Ulster. Cox tells us that—

"Sir J. Clotworthy's regiment built a fort at Toom, and thereby got a convenience to pass the Bann at pleasure, and to make incursions into the county of Londonderry: to revenge this, the Irish garrison at Charlemont built some boats, which they sailed down the Blackwater into Lough Neagh, and preyed all the borders thereof. Hereupon those at Antrim built a boat of twenty ton, and furnished it with six brass guns, and they also got six or seven lesser boats, and in them stowed three hundred men, under the command of Lieut.-Col. Owen O'Connolly, [the discoverer of the rebellion, who was a stout and active man,] and Captain Langford. These sailed over the Lough, and landed at the mouth of the Blackwater, where they cast up two small forts, and returned. But the Irish found means to pass these in dark nights, and not only continued their former manner of plundering, but also raised a small fort at Clanbrazill, to protect their fleet upon any emergency. Upon notice of this, Connolly and Langford manned out their navy again, and met the Irish near the shore of Clanbrazill, whereupon a naval engagement ensued. But the rebels being fresh-water soldiers, were soon forced on shore, and the victors, pursuing their fortune, followed them to the shore and forced them to surrender it. And in this expedition sixty rebels were slain, and as many taken prisoners, which, together with the boats, were brought in triumph to Antrim."

Sir John Clotworthy not only proved himself to be a thorough soldier and statesman during the eventful period of the great civil war, but also showed that, like other wise men, he was by no

means indifferent to his own interests. Though a staunch Presbyterian, he obtained, in 1656, from the Protector, Cromwell—at a nominal rent, and on condition of giving up his pension of six-and-eightpence per day—a lease for ninety-nine years, "of Lough Neagh, with the fishing and soil thereof, and the islands therein called Ram's Island and Coney Island, containing three acres of ground, also the lough and river of Bann, as far as the Salmon Leap, containing six salmon fishings, and two mixed fishings of salmon and eels, and another of trouts." At the Restoration, Sir John petitioned Charles II., stating that, "being obstructed, by a late unlawful power, in receiving his pension, he was forced to take the lease of Lough Neagh in lieu thereof." So Charles ratified Cromwell's grant of Lough Neagh and the Bann, restored the pension, and made Sir John a Privy Councillor, Baron of Lough Neagh, and first Viscount Massereene.

THE CRYES OF ULSTER.

To my much honored Friend and Coll.: Sr. J. Cl.

Up sad Melpomene; up; and condole
The Ruines of a Realme: attire thy soule
In sorrowes Dresse; and let thy Fountaines rise
And ouerflow the Floud-gates of thine eyes.
Fill up thy sanguine Cisternes to the Brimme:
Spread forth thy expanded armes, and learne to swim
In thine owne Teares, that thus thou maist make knowne
The Griefes of others, fully as thine own.
Oh! here's a Theame indeed! If mortalls could
Not now lament, the Rocks and Mountains would:
The melting Heavens, whose Influences steepe
The tender stones, would teach us how to weepe.
The Blood-imbrued-Earth doth Blush to see
Such horrid Massakers; and shall not wee?
Sure should wee not; wee had lesse shame y^{n} Those
Hard Hearts that were first Authors of these Woes.
Disastrous state! how beautifull, how faire
Thy Buildings, and how foule thy Vices were!
How were thy glorious Blossomes turn'd to Dust,
And blasted with the lightning of thy lust!
Brim'd with Excesse how did thy cuppes o'reflowe
More fast than all thy triekling Teares doe now!

How have thy crimes ecclips'd thee, and crying loud
For Vengance masqued thy Forhead in a cloud!
Thy Greatnesse but encreas'd thy Griefe: and that
Which was thy Glory, usherd on thy Fate.
Thy Store and Plenty, have but centuplied
Thy greater Plauges, and made thy wound more wide;
And what should most revive thee and restoare
Thine Health, did most exulcerat the Soare.
Thy stately woods, whose beauty did excite
In the spectator, wonder, and delight:
Proved but thy Funerall Faggots, to consume
Thee in cinders; and to exaggerat thy Doome
And all thy Blazing Territories have
But Torches beene, to light thee to thy Grave.
And shall Shee perish; and wee sorrow thus,
And is there none to help Hir, or pitty us?
O happy England! who wilt scarce confesse
Lulld with security thine Happinesse!
Thy Troubles were but triviall, and thy Feares
But merely Fantasies compar'd with Hirs.
'Tis Shee, 'tis Shee hath suffer'd: and drunck up
Those Dregges whereof Thou 'hast onely kiss'd ye cup.
Those puny Plauges, wch partially have met
In Thee, have beene soe ample, soe compleat
And numerous in Hir; that nothing more
Could once be heapt or added to Hir Score.
But ah! complaints are Shaddowes and too breife
And short to 'expresse the Substance of my Griefe!
Thou that wert once great Brittanes only glory
And now become a Gazing-stock, a story:
Exiled from Humane Joyes, and Heaven's smiles,
Or'ewhelmed, and sepulchred in thine owne spoiles.
Famine! thou Sister of the Sword; and Sonne
Of Death; how many worlds hast thou undone!
How dost thou tyrannize! and keep thy Leets
And constant Stations in all Hir streets!

Oh how the pale-face't Sucklings roare for food
And from their milke-lesse Mother's Breast draw blood.
They cryc'd for bread that had scarce breath to cryc
And wanting Meanes to live, found Meanes to die.
The gasping Father lies; and to his Heire
Bequeathes his pined coarse: The Nurses teare
And quarter out their Infants; whiles they Feast
Vpon the one halfe, and preserue the rest.
O cruell Famine; wch compells the Mother
To kill one hungry Child to feed another!
Thus is thy Glory vanisht in a Trice
And all thy Brauerycs buried in abysse.
Yet bee not thou dismay'd with too much sorrow:
These Nights of griefe may finde a joyfull Morrow:
Cleare then thy clouded Countenance; and calme
Thy discomposed Soule: Heaven, Heauen has Balme
As well as Thunder Bolts; and bee thou sure
Thou canst not Bleed soe fast as hee can cure.
'Tis Hee, 'tis Hee, can heale thee; and bruise those
That haue triumphed in these Ouerthrowes.
There is a time for them: when Heauen's Decree
Shall call Them to accompt as well as Thee;
And a Day there is: if Souldiers may diuine,
To worke their Ruines, who have thus wrought Thine.

The next poem is "On our Dangerous Voyage twixt Mazarine & Mountjoy," and dedicated to Major J. L., who, no doubt, was a Langford, and cousin or uncle to Sir John Clotworthy. The occasion referred to is, in all probability, the same as is described in a very rare pamphlet in the Grenville Library, dated August 17th, 1642, entitled, *A Relation from Belfast, sent to a Friend, mentioning some late Successe against the Rebels, by Colonel Clotworthy, about Mountjoy, in the County of Tyrone.* The most interesting part of this pamphlet I shall here transcribe previous to giving the poem:—

"Worthy Sir,

"Since my last to you of the 11th of July from Mountjoy, Colonell Clotworthy had some business in Antrem, where after his stay for two dayes, he was returning back to Mountjoy

by water, where he met on the Lough with a great Storme, yet was resolved to venture onwards notwithstanding, and therefore cast Anchor neere an Island in the Lough called Ram's Island, intending there to land, and stay till the storme was over; but when he was going to land there, a violent storme forced him back againe to Antrem, where he that night received certain intelligence, that had he landed according to his intention in that Island, he had been cut off, for many of the Rebels had gotten thither for shelter, and might easily have prejudiced him, he not expecting to meet any there, and the company with him not being many; but thus did God's immediate hand interpose and divert what otherwise was very near. This storme also lost five of Colonell Clotworthy's boates, he had built for the Lough; but he by setting men on worke, presentlye to repaire them, hath made up all his former number, which is 12 large boates that will carry 60 men a peece, and the Admirall the Sidney which also he hath built, and with these Botes and Barkes he is able to carry on any part of the Lough side neare a 1000 men, which doth so distract and torment the Rebels, that they have no quiet thereabouts. Hereby also we have all our victuals easily transported, and our Ammunition (carrying now by land only to Antrim), and thence by water in these Boates we convey it to any part joyning to the Lough, which is of exceeding advantage to us.

As soone as the Lough was calme, Colonell Clotworthy went to Mountjoy, to that part of his Regiment he left there, and presently upon his comming, having notice the enemy was within 7 or 8 miles, he took 400 of his men, leaving some in Garrison at the Forts, and mounted 40 more with Firelockes, on horses he had formerly taken from the enemy; and, with this 440 men he marched all night and came timely with the Legar of the Rebels, where he found most of them in their beds, and thereby had opportunitie of cutting many of them off before they could get to their Armes, and runne away, which presently they did, though there were 1000 of them; and, as we are certainely informed, Sir Philem Oneale was there also and ranne among the rest, but in Colonell Clotworthie's first charge they shot Colonel Ocane (who is counted their most skilful commander, who came from beyond Sea to them) him they shot in the leg, kild his Lieutenant-Colonell, who was one of the chief of the O'Quines, and divers of his Captaines, and about 60 of their common Souldiers; had their horse been any good, more execution might have been done upon them, but they were only such as Colonel Clot. took from the enemy, and not one Shoe[b] upon them all, yet served to bring home a pray of 600 cowes, which that night they brought to the Leagar at Mountjoy."

ON OUR DANGEROUS VOYAGE TWIXT MAZARINE AND MOUNTJOY.

To my honor'd Friend Mair J. L.

We had now weighed vp or Anchors and hoist sayles,
Whiles Heaven's serener breath in whispring gales
Siged forth our Farwell, and loath to dismisse
Such Friends did court vs with a parting kisse.

[b] This does not say much in favour of the great antiquity of Irish horse-shoes!

But oh! this Truce turn'd Tragicall, and that
Which wee presum'd a Fortune, prooed or Fate.
For now the Windes gan mutine; and grow wild
O'th' sudden wch before seemed reconciled.
The wrinkled Ocean gan to loure and shewe
Hir supercilious anger in hir browe.
The Billowes playd at Bandy: and tosst or Barke
Aboue the clouds; which mounted like a Larke.
The Surges dasht the Heauens as thoe they ment
To wash the face o'th' cloudy Firmament,
And make't more cleare: and truely it made vs stare
To see the Water mingle wth ye Aire.
Old Fry yt carried a Tempest in his looks, now grew
Madd, and more blustring than those Windes yt blewe.
You'd think the Boatmen wilde to heare em hoope;
This bawles out larboord; t'other flanckes ye Poope:
That hales the Bowling, which was scarce made fast
Before a counter-gust ore'whelm'd both Mast
And Maine-yard both; not leaueing vs scarce sheet
Enoughe to wipe those teares wee shed to see'it.
Both Card and Compasse faild. The Pilot now
Could doe noe more then hee that holds ye ploughe.
The Master was in his dumpes: the seamen stood
Like senseless Stones, or Statues made of Wood.
Our Rudder too (the Bridle of or Shipp)
Quite broake in twaine lay tumbling in the Deepe;
Soe that the Vessell did at Random run,
Threatning hir owne and or destruction.
Thus Fate and Feare besieged vs round about;
That Hope could not get in nor danger out.
Wee cryed for succors, and lookt euery way,
But still the more wee lookt, the lesse we sawe.
Oft wee implored the Windes; but they such noise
And murmuring made they would not heare or voice.
Oft wee inuoakd the Nimphes; but they, poor Elues,
In this sad Pickle, could scearce healp themselues.

Often wee takt about; but founde howe crosse
The Current, and how vaine or labor was.
Wee fathomd oft, but saw noe ground was neere;
Noe ground wee saw, alas, but of dispayre.
And now within vs did a storme arise,
More feirce; whiles from ye floudgates of or eyes
The fluent teares fell downe, like showers of Raine
Striueing to mix their water wth the Maine.
Our Teares did swell the Tide! or Sighes each Sayle:
Our Cryes might cleaue the Clouds; yet could not quail
The roaring Sea; which careless of or moane
Drowned all cryes and clamors in hir owne.
At length night's sable Curtaines being undrawne,
The Infant-day appeared in hir first dawne;
The clouds with It, began to looke more cleare,
The Sea more calme. Wee now arose to cheere
Or fainting spirits, and to each other speake
A generall Joy. Some crept from of the deck,
Some from the Plancks; and all like wormes at last
Crawld from their crooked Holes, ye storme being past.
The Weather-beate Souldiers wch yt night did supp
Were all growne Mawe-sick, ...
. . . . . .
And truely the wind did trouble most, and there
Was scarce one 'mong us all but had his share.
Some void of sense grew giddy: these forgott,
Themselues, and took ye Bark for Charon's Boat.
Another was so smear'd with Pitch, you might,
Had you not knowne him, sweare he had been a Sprite.
Some sprawling on the Decks were trodden on,
And soe disfigurd that they scarce were knowne.
Some broak their shancks; some noses; and but few
But either had his head broak or his browe.
In fine, all finely handled were; and such
As seemed to haue the least-harme had too much.

Thus S$_r$ you see; how all night-long wee weare
Turmoil'd, and tosst betweene hope and dispayre;
Till pittying Neptune with his Trident did
Calme and controule those blust'ring winds; wch chid,
Retir'd back to their cauernes, and noe more
Did dare molest us, till wee came a shoare.

The next poem, "*On our miserable wet March betweene Moneymore and Montjoy,*" is dedicated to Major F. E., in every probability Francis Ellis, grandson of Robert Ellis, sheriff of Carrickfergus in 1608. He and his brothers, Foulk and Edmond, were officers in Sir J. Clotworthy's regiment; and he married a daughter of Sir Hercules Langford, a Captain in the same distinguished corps.

ON OUR MISERABLE WETT MARCH BETWEENE MONEYMORE AND MONTJOY, WITH A COMMANDED PARTY OF THE SCOTCH REGIMENT.

To my honor'd Friend, Mair. F. E.

'Twas almost noone, when wee (S^r) loath to loose
Time, haueing dined, rose from our Randeuouze.
Searce had wee packt o^r Trinckets vp, and ranged
Our men for march, but th' whole Heauen was chang'd:
The sunne retyring thence, went sick to bed,
And bound about with clouds, his Rheum-swolne head:
What his Disease was, wither Cold or Heat,
Wee could not tell; but judged it to a Sweat;
Nor was it more at first; wch from his ey'ne
Trickling like Teares, turn'd onely to a Rhine.
But e're wee had gone farre wee found too fast
Howe his Phisick work't wch did soe make him cast,
And disgorge such a deluge vp, that you'd
Where hee but spet before, now sweare bee spue'd.
. . . with a witnesse came, and with
A sisery[c] blew full in our Teeth.

[c] Siserara, a word still in use for a severe *blow* of any kind. Moore actually attempts to derive it from the story of Sisera, in the Old Testament. But it is, no doubt, a corruption of *Certiorari*, a chancery writ, reciting a complaint of severe usage, and affords another instance of the many slang phrases our ancestors delighted in forming out of legal terms.

Those that were sloueings neere whose faces had
Long time escapet a scowring, were now paid.
Those Scotts that had ye Scratches too, and which
Had all their Liues been peper'd with ye Itche
Now gott a sudden cure: and by this change
Of weather found a Medcine for the Mange.
Yet most of these like Pedlars had their Packs,
And Snaile-like marcht wth their Houses on their backs.
Most were prouided well for a dead lift;
And all vnlesse it were my selfe, could made some shift.
I without all shift, or shelter was alas!
And too court such a Showre quite out of Case!
My wainscot doublet now grew wett; being stuffe
As thin as Paper, and not Weather-Proofe.
The water from my broad-broacht hat[d] ran downe
As thoe I had a Conduit in the Crowne:
My breeches gott ye Dropsie; and drunck in
Such a Mornings-draught as drencht mee to ye skin:
My liquord Boots, much like black Jacks, were fraught;
And carried more water then an Irish Cott:
My Shirt was wringing wett; wch had I then ye luck
To shift; I had saued the labour of a Buck.[e]
My Cuffes, that erst stood stiffe, now humbly kisst
My hand, and gently twined about my wrist.
My Gloues were glued to my Golls;[f] and stuck as fast
As thoe they had beene coniure'd[g] on with paste.
My Haire too clung in clotts: soe that mine head
Lookt like some swabber, or a Maupp for a Bed.
Pouder'd and pickled thus; and in this mood
Being dresst I lookt as if I had beene stew'd.
The Souldiers flockt to meet me: some I met
Askt me a drie question, how I came soe wett.

[d] Broad-buckled.

[e] A wash.

[f] An old slang term for hands—

"Try, Mr. Constable, what golls you have,
Is Justice
So blind you cannot see to wash your hands,
Beaumont & Fletcher's *Coxcomb*.

[g] Conjured by injunction, obtestation, or asservation, not by magical art. Another instance of the slang use of a legal phrase.

Others too not remembring me forgatt
Themselues; and likned mee to a drowned Ratt.
At first sight sure they did suppose I had beene
Some strange outlandish Creature, to bee seene:
Nor could those Hedge-Hoggs, gape, or wonder more
Then if I had beene some Sea-horse cast a shoare.
Thus much in water'd stuffe: it being noe whit
Lesse weak then th' Element, wherein 'twas writt:
Tis Sack makes Poets soare, and must inspire
A crest-fallen Fancie, with more actiue Fire:
Then Crowne my Cupp: and thus Sr euery line
That now tastes water, shall soone tast of Wine.

The last of Fisher's poems relating to Ireland is entitled *Newes from Lough Bagge* (Beg), and dedicated to Sergeant-major Foulk Ellis. I may observe that the rank of sergeant-major of a regiment then was exactly equivalent to that of major at the present day, while the sergeant-major of an army was the same as our modern adjutant-general. It is believed that Foulk Ellis was killed in action, at Desertmartin, in the County of Derry, but a short year after receiving the following really witty epistle. Probably enough, Fisher sent it as a military report to Ellis, his superior officer. The occasion when it was written was when Captain Langford, in command of Sir J. Clotworthy's boats, had dislodged the Irish from Church Island, in Lough Beg, and placed an English force in their stead, with the object of securing the passage of the Bann, whenever it might be required. Fisher seems to have been the officer left in command of the detachment in Church Island.

NEWES FROM LOUGH-BAGGE, ALIAS THE CHURCH ISLAND,
VPON YE FIRST DISCOVERY AND FORTIFYING OF IT.

To my honored Friend, Seiriant Maior ffalk. Ell.

Sr
I haue read yor lines: whose chiefe
Heads thus I answer by a Briefe.
Last week from Toome wee did put of
And hoisting sayles, rangc'd round the Lough
Æneas-like, here up, and downe
Seeking some Plantation.

At last about Bellahy, a mile
Or more, wee spye'd a little Ile:
More by chance sure 'twas, then by
Our cunning in Cosmography.
This little Ile well view'd and scand
To vs appeard some new-found-land
And glad wee were since twas our happ
To finde what was not in the Mappe.
Arriueing heere wee could not lesse
Then think wee weare in a Wildernesse:
Soe dismall 'twas, wee durst engage
Our liues t'had beene some Hermitage,
And much it did perplexe or witts
To thinke wee should turne Anchorits.
In this sad Desart all alone
Stands an old Church quite ouergrowne
With age, and Iuie; of little vse,
Vnlesse it were for some Recluse.
To this sad Church my men I led
And lodge'd the liueing mong ye Dead.
Those that dwelt heere, in this place thus
Demolisht, sure kept open house.
The Roofe soe rent was, and had beene
Soe hospitious to all Comers Inn
That Crowes and Screech-Owles euerywhere
Dwelt and had Free Quarter heere.
But since wee came wee had none of this
Wee haue alter'd quite th'whole Ædifice,
And what soeuer was enorme
Before wee haue now made vniforme.
Those Birds and Crowes we haue disposesst
And giuen them their *Qui etus est.*[h]
The rainy Roofe wee haue dawb'd vp quite
'Tis now more lasting thoe lesse light.

[h] *Et quietus est* [and he is quit,] was the form of discharge appended to the roll of Exchequer, when the full sum due was paid into the treasury.

The whole Church wee haue ouerspread
With shingle-boards in stead of lead;
Nor was it truely fitt, or fayre
We should stand couer'd, and it stand Bare.
Thus like good Tenants wee haue cure'd most
Of these Decays at or owne cost
And thoe wee no Churchwardens are
Wee haue put the Kirke in good Repayre.
Without we keepe a Guard; within
The Chancell's made or Magazine,
Soe that our Church thus arm'd may vaunt
Shee's truly now made Militant.
With workes wee haue inuiron'd round
And turn'd or Churchyard to a Pound:
Forts gaurd vs on all sides; soe that
Thoe wee donte supererogat
Or stand precisely on Popish quirks
Yet heere wee are saued by our works.
Our little Nauie in the Bay
At Anchor rides range'd in Array
Halfe-Moones and Brestworks doe insconce
Our minor skiffes; made for the nonce
And thoe our Fleet haue noe stone-wharfe
Yet 'tis secure'd by a counter scarfe.
As for the Rebells they keepe off
And seldome come within ye loughe;
Yet now and then wee at distance see
A Kearne stalking Cap-a-Pe.
About Bellahy lurke a crew
Of Canniballs that lie perdue:
These seldome range but closely keepe
Themselues like woolues yt watch for sheepe.
Wee see them lively euery morning
And haueing seene them giue them warning:
Now, and then, wee send them such
Toakens as they dare not touch,

Wrapt in Fire, and Smoak enough
To purge them worse than sneezing-stuffe.
Last night wee tooke upon the loughe
A Callio in a chicken-troughe,
Which in hir Tree did sliely steale
Just like a witch in a wall-nutt-shell.
I've seene as large a coffin sould
For a Child of sixe years old
As was Hir Cott, wch to our Sayle
Shew'd like a Whiteing to a Whale.
Noe other Newes hath happ'ned since
My commeing heere of Consequence;
In haste thus much to let you knowe
Our safetyes onely and how wee doe.
Sr were I not so buisy aboard
The Barke; I had sent you exacter word:
If therfore what I've writt, in Matter
Or Forme bee weak, 'was writt by Water:
Now let it serue; when I send o're
John Hodges Boat, Ile tell you more

Yors sincerely devoted to
honor and serue you
P. ff.

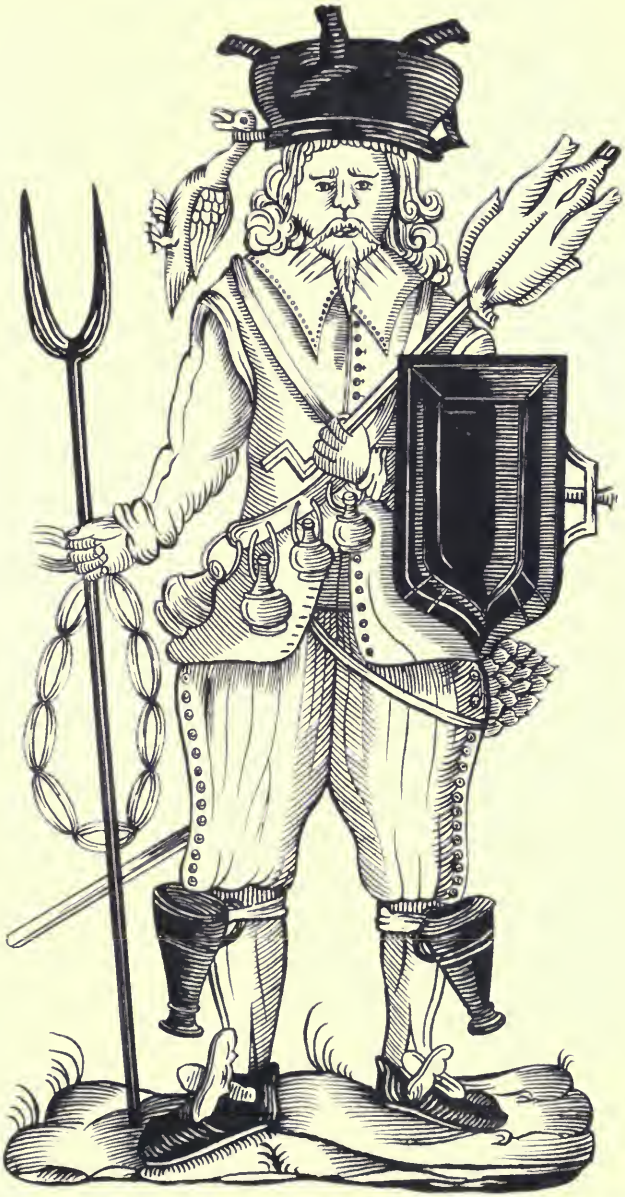
From ye Church Iland
Feb 4th.*

To the foregoing poems, I may here add a London broadside ballad of the same period, entitled *The English-Irish Soldier*. The accompanying lithograph is a reduced *fac simile* of the curious wood engraving that occupies the whole length of the centre of the broadside, the verses being disposed in columns on each side. Early in 1642, Parliament appointed a committee to sit in Guildhall, for the purpose of raising 5000 foot and 500 horse to serve against the Rebels in Ireland. These were the English-Irish soldiers the ballad refers to; and as the atrocities perpetrated by the Irish made the "English-Irish" service popular, the ballad may have been written and published as an encouragement towards, rather than a satire against, it. However that may be, the com-

* 1643.

mittee succeeded in enlisting for service in Ireland a great many cavalier soldiers, that would soon have been in arms against the Parliament, if they had not thus been got out of the way. These cavalier soldiers had been part of the army raised against the Scotch, and had been living as they best could, since their disbandment. Among that large—and as curious as it is large—collection termed the King's Pamphlets, in the British Museum, there is what purports to be a speech of one of those cavaliers to his comrades. It is, of course, a *jeu d'esprit*, but no doubt an excellent likeness of the character represented. This cavalier had been in the army raised against Scotland, had been in great distress since, but now having received his bounty to serve the Parliament in Ireland, is carousing with his comrades. That he does not seem to take so flattering an idea of Irish affairs as his comrade of the ballad, the following extract from his speech will show. I may just add, that the speech *was* "taken down," by Agamemnon Shaglog von Damme, a cavalier chaplain:—

"Of this Irish expedition, I will say nothing of the benefit thereof, more than appertaines to ourselves, which consists of these conveniences:—naked arms appearing out of shamy doublets, like pedlars with half breeches, footless stockings, and over them drawn a pair of leather buskins, which in former days had been boots of decent wear. For diet, think not scorn of mouldy bisket, and a fat colt boiled in his own skin, if you can catch it. For want of diet, that precious vapour of Virginia in a leager pipe is a singular prevention to stop the yawning of the hungry stomack: and grudge not now and then to be magnificently starved to death for want of these commodities too; and the sports and recreations that belong to this imployment, of standing centinel four long houres in a frosty night, or lying per dieu in a trench of cold water, which is a soveraigne preventative to that comfortable malady called the Belly Ache. And yet now, Gentlemen, you know we are the men must actually and personally hazard ourselves in these affaires, whereas that cowardly slave the Roundhead, if he were called to the imployment, would rather be hanged here, for disobedience to his colours, than stir a foot towards it; and yet at home dares preach against us, yea, and pray too till his eyes be almost started out of his head in praying for our confusion that must defend him to live at ease, snarling like a dog in a manger, and will neither do good himself nor permit others to do it, he vexes me to the heart, but I will dround sorrow in this beare-bowl of Sack. Gentlemen we are now armed cap-a-pie, with good grape armour. I could now outstare a Basilisk, poyson a Crocodile with one puff of my smoke-recked nostrils; I durst do anything that ever any man, or men combined, to any other creatures ever attempted. O for an army, all such as we are, ready pitched to assault all the Rebels in Ireland, joined before us. St. Patrick himself, were his legend true, should find that mortal creatures, inspired with immortal Sack, were able to vanquish an Army of such as himself."



THE ENGLISH-IRISH SOLDIER.

Fac simile of wood-cut from a broad-side ballad of 1642.

THE ENGLISH-IRISH SOLDIER.

With his new Discipline, new Armes, Old Stomacke, and new taken Pillage: who had rather Eate than Fight.

If any Souldate
think I do appeare
In this strange Armes
and posture, as a jeere,
Let him advance up to me
he shall see,
Ile stop his mouth,
And we wilboth agree.

Our skirmish ended,
our enemies fled or slain,
Pillage we cry then
for the Souldiers' gaine;
And this compleat Artillery
I have got
The best of Souldiers,
I think, hateth not.

My Martiall Armes
dealt I among my foes,
With this I charged stand
'gainst hunger's blowes;
This is Munition
if a Soldier lacke,
He fights like *Iohn-a-dreams*,[i]
or Lent's thin *Jacke*.[k]

[i] A nickname for a stupid, dreamy, actionless character. Hamlet says—

"Yet I,
A dull and muddy mettled rascal, peak
Like John-a-dreams, unpregnant of my cause,
And can say nothing."

[k] A stuffed puppet dressed in rags, which was thrown at during Lent.

"Thou cam'st but half a thing into this world,
And was made up of patchings, parings, shreds;
Thou, that when last thou wert put out at service,
Travelled to HamsteadHeath on an Ash Wednesday,
Where thou didst stand six weeks the Jack of Lent,
For boys to hurl three throws a penny at thee,
To make thee a purse."

Ben Jonson, *Tale of a Tub.*

All safe and cleare,
my true Armes rest awhile,
And welcome Pillage,
You have Foes to foile;
This Pot, my Helmet,
must not be forsaken,
For loe I seiz'd it
full of Hens and Bacon.

Rebels for Rebels drest it,
but our hot rost,
Made them to flye,
and now they kisse the post:[1]
And better that to kisse,
than stay for Pullits,
And have their bellies
cram'd with leaden bullets.

This fowle my Feather is,
who wins most fame,
To weare a pretty Duck,
he need not shame:
This Spit my well charg'd
Musket, with a Goose,
Now cryes come eate me,
let your stomacks loose.

This Dripping pan's my
target, and this Hartichoke
My Basket-hilted blade,
can make 'em smoake,
And make them slash & cut,
who most Home puts,
Ile most my fury
sheath into his guts.

This Forke my Rest is,
and my Bandaleers
Canary Bottles,
that can quell base feares,

[1] To be shut out from dinner, and left to satisfy the appetite by kissing the door-post.

And make us quaffe downe
danger, if this not doe,
What is it then? can raise
a spirit into fearfull men.

This Match are linkes
to light down to my belly
Wherein are darksom chinks
as I may tell yee;
Or Sassages, or Puddings,
choose you which,
An excellent Needle,
Hunger's wounds to stitch.

These my Supporters,
quarter'd with black pots,
Can steele the nose,
& purg the brain of plots;
These Tosts my shoestrings,
steept in this strong fog,
Is able of themselves
To foxe[m] a Dog.

These Armes being vanisht,
once againe appeare
A true and faithful Souldier
As you were;
But if this wants,
and that we have no biting
In our best Armours
We make sorry fighting.

FINIS.

Printed at *London*, for *R. Wood*, and *A. Coe*. 1642.

[m] A cant phrase, meaning to make drunk.
"Such as have but little coin
Laid up in store to purchase wine,
Must drink fair water, cider, perry,
Or mead, instead of sack and sherry:
Or have their throats with brandy drenched,
Which makes men *foxed*, ere thirst be quenched."
Poor Robin, 1738.

A FEW NOTES UPON COAL.

The more extensive use of this material in Ireland, of late years, and the large masses of it which underlie the surface of the island, would constitute a sufficient reason for some reference to the subject. It acquires additional interest, however, not merely from its connexion with commerce and manufactures, but from its bearing upon history and the domestic manners of the people. Even on philological grounds, were there no other, the word "coal" might claim to be treated with respect in our pages.

It has been said that the Romans worked coal mines in Britain; but it is probable that the ancient implements found in neglected shafts were those of much more recent people. Dr. Whitaker urges, in like manner, that the material was in use as fuel among the Saxons; but a people so rude would not have explored the bowels of the earth for that which they might have had so readily, in another form, on its surface. Wood was the natural material for firing; and it obtruded itself upon them in their numerous uncleared forests.

It is frequently said that, in England, coal has been used as fuel for at least 400 years; but the probability is, that this is true only with modifications. That is to say, its use and qualities may have been well known, but the material itself was not popular, or was employed sparingly, and exceptionally. In like manner, French brandy is known at present to the natives of England, and Hollands to those of Ireland; but neither is commonly used by the people, though it may come to be so at some future time. The Drummond light and electric light are both well known as a means of illumination; but we do not employ either of them to light our streets or our houses.

Many of the mistakes which have arisen on this subject are attributable to the ambiguity of the term employed. Thus a "coal" may mean, first, an ember or coal-of-fire; second, a piece of charcoal; or, third, the mineral coal in any of its forms. The first of these is frequently meant in the Scriptures when such expressions as the following are used: "a live *coal* in his hand," (Isa. vi. 6); "a censer full of burning *coals*," (Levit. xvi. 12); "heap *coals* of fire on his head," (Prov. xxv. 22, Rom. xii. 20); "a fire of *coals*, and fish laid thereon," (John xxi. 9). The second is certainly meant in the expression of Jeremiah (Lamen. iv. 8), "their visage is blacker than a *coal*," and is probably intended in the allusions to the smith, by Isaiah (xliv. 12, liv. 16). Some[a] have supposed, partly from the different Hebrew word employed, and partly from the circumstances of the case, that in a few instances the third, or mineral coal, is intended. For example, when Job describes Leviathan, he says (xli. 19, 21), "Out of his mouth go burning lamps, and sparks of fire leap out; . . . . his breath kindleth *coals*, and a flame goeth out of his mouth;" and in the Psalmist's magnificent

[a] Denham in Kitto's *Biblical Cyclopædia*..

description of the Deity (xviii. 12), it is said: "At the brightness that was before him, his thick clouds passed, hailstones and *coals* of fire." It is supposed that the poetic similitudes become more real, by supposing the fiery breath or bright glory to inflame a pile of mineral coal; but surely the image may be as thoroughly realised with charcoal, the only substance of the name which could be popularly known at the time as subject to ignition. We may fairly assume, therefore, that the ancients, and also our mediæval ancestors, knew nothing practically of mineral coal; though individuals may have known of it, as Friar Bacon knew of gunpowder, or the Marquis of Worcester of steam.

Sir John Hill is pretty certain that Theophrastus, in his treatise "On Stones," refers to fossil coal, as he represents the workers in brass as employing it, and says, "it lights and burns like wood-coal." But it is clear that substances resembling, such as bitumen, might or might not be confounded with the mineral coal. Our own days have witnessed a most extraordinary action at law respecting the Torbane mineral; some of the most eminent scientific men of the day swearing that it was coal, and others of equal eminence declaring on oath that it was not!

If we turn back to the close of the thirteenth century, we have a minute account of the expenses of John of Brabant, who came to marry the daughter of Edward I., and also of Thomas and Henry of Lancaster, nephews to the king. The roll bears date 1292-3, and the weekly sum of charges invariably embraces such an entry as the following: "Pro *busca* per dictum tempus, [vij. dies] iij^{s} ij^{d}." It is clear from this, that wood only was burned; and, by comparing the charge for it with the general outlay, we can see what proportion it bore in the expenses of the household. Thus, in two consecutive weeks, the entire expenses amount to lxviiij^{s}· vi^{d}· ob. [69s. 6½d.], while the cost of fire-wood is about one-tenth of this, or vij^{s}· ob. In like manner, when we read: "Pro litera in cameris iij^{s}· ix^{d}·, we know that the rooms were strewn with rushes, hay, and green boughs, and that the carpets of Kidderminster, Brussels, Persia, Holland, and Scotland were then unknown.

Three centuries later, that is to say, 350 years from the present time, fossil coal was still unknown at an English hearth. About the close of the reign of Henry VII., or the beginning of that of Henry VIII., Polydore Vergil wrote his English history. He was a native of Italy, though long resident in England, of extensive and varied acquirements, and an ecclesiastic. Far from being behind the information of his age, he was in advance of it; yet, in the early part of his history, in treating of Scotland, he speaks as follows: "Those Scotts which inhabit the southe, beinge farre the beste parte, are well manured, and somewhate of more gentle condicion, using the English tongue, and *insteade of woodde*, whereof there they have smalle store, *they make fire of a certeyne kinde of blackstone which they digge out of the grounde.*" Now, from this passage, the following inferences seem perfectly legitimate: 1. that wood was then still very abundant in England; 2. that it was rare in the lowlands of Scotland; 3. that the English commonly used wood for fuel;

4. that the Scotch in the south generally (or at least frequently) burned fossil coal; 5. that the modern name of it was not then in use; 6. that even so intelligent a man as Vergil did not know any name by which to call it.

If we follow on about half-a-century farther down the stream of time, we find Edward VI. on the throne in 1551-2. The Princess Elizabeth, afterwards queen, was then a young woman with a separate establishment; and the expenses of her household, duly audited and signed by herself, have come down to us. Under the two heads of "The Squillerie" and "The Woodyard," we have the expenses of fuel. Thus Richard Bryce, or Brice, who appears to have been a confidential servant, usually provided the coals; but sometimes also Oliver Lowthe and Thomas Chamber. In like manner, John Lingarde and William Gibbes provided the wood.

The Squillerie.—Richard Brice for xxij. lodes of coales,		vj^{li}· xij^{d}·
	To him for xxv. lodes of coales,	vij^{li}· xij^{s}·
	Oliver Lowthe for coales,	xlv^{s}·
	Thomas Chamber for the like,	lxij^{s}·
The Woodyard.—John Lingard for tallewoode and faggotes,		ix^{li}· xvij^{s}· iv^{d}·
	Will^{m}· Gibbes, for tallewoode and faggotes	iv^{li}· xviij^{s}·
	John Lingard for faggotes and tallewoode	vij^{li}· xvij^{s}·
	To him for fagotes,	xlvj^{s}· viij^{d}·
	To him for tallewoode and fagotes	cv^{s}· viij^{d}·

If the whole sums, of which these are only specimens, be added separately, we find that £57 : 5 : 11d. was paid for coals, and £69 : 16 : 4d. for "tallewoode and fagotes" during the same time. If the two were not equal in quantity, they were at least nearly equal in price; and the "coales," in all those instances in which we can estimate the price, cost 5s. 8d per load. It is clear, on negative grounds, that the "coales" alluded to were not what we understand by the term; for the latter were sold by weight and measure, not by the load; they would have cost much more; and, requiring to be brought from a distant part, that fact would be indicated in the name. What, then, was the material which Master Brice furnished? We may infer that from words which lingered in our language till lately, and which still survive in provincial districts. Thus, "a heap of Fire-wood for sale, so much as would make a load of Coals when burnt," was called "coal-fire,"[b] though the primitive and far more proper designation would be "a load of coals" The "tallewoodde" of Masters Lingarde and Gibbes is also explained by Bailey:—"a long kind of Shiver, riven out of the Tree, which shortened is made into Billets." Thus the whole process is before us. The fire-wood was cleft, as a lath cleaver splits timber into flakes at the present day; and these were divided in such

[b] Bailey's Universal Etymological English Dictionary, 21st edition, 1775. Wright's Dictionary of Obsolete and Provincial English, 2 vols., 8vo, 1857.

lengths as best suited household purposes. But the important fact is that, in the middle of the sixteenth century, or three hundred years ago, charcoal and wood only were burned in the chambers of an English princess, about six years before she ascended the throne.

Fashion, however, sometimes begins at the top of the ladder, and sometimes at the bottom of it; and it does not follow that coals were unknown in the country because they were unheard of in the palace. They might have been a mark of servility; while the use of wood charcoal, then becoming rare, indicated persons of quality. The following quotation resolves that point. In 1553, or very nearly at the same date, William Cholmeley, "Londyner," wrote "the Request and Suite of a True-hearted Englishman" to show the great advantage which would follow from dyeing woollen goods in England, and that it could be done equally well, instead of sending them abroad for that purpose. He says—"To the syxt objection (which is, that dying wasteth much wode) I answer thus: it wasteth much wode in very dede, but yet it wyll not destroye so much wode these hundreth yeres as the unsatiable desyre of pasture for sheep and cattell hath caused to be stocked up by the rotis within these xxx^{ti} yeres last paste, contrarye to the lawes of this realme. Well, that answer satisfieth not; wherefore I say that we have plenty of *sea-cole* in many partes of this realme, so that we may in moost partis of this realme have them to serve our turne in dyinge as well as the Fleminingis have, and as good cheape; for *they burne and occupye none other fuell then coles that are dygged out of the grounde, lyke our smythes doe.* Our dying therefore should not be wasteful to our wodis, but rather a preserveyng, by staying the Newcastell colys at home; for then shoulde our dyars, that do now waste much wode in dyinge deceytfull coloures, burne no wode at all, and yet should they dye as true and perfect colours, and to them more benefytt."

It is clear from this that wood was then beginning to be scarce, and perhaps costly; that coals were used for manufacturing purposes; that they were exported from Newcastle, and purchased by the Flemings; that for heating iron, they had long been known in England; but that they were not yet in use, or even thought of, for domestic purposes.

Nearly half-a-century later, viz., about 1599, Shakspeare wrote some of his more matured plays, including the two parts of King Henry IV. In the second act of the latter part, Dame Quickly, in reproving Falstaff, speaks as follows:—"Thou didst swear to me upon a parcel-gilt goblet, sitting in my Dolphin chamber, at the round table, by a *sea-cole* fire; upon Wednesday in Whitsun week, . . . to marry me and make me my lady, thy wife." Here the categories of time, place, position, circumstance, &c., are given with great minuteness; but the important points are, that in fifty years more, wood had become still more scarce; that coals had passed the stage of manufacturing use, and had been introduced into private houses; but that they were not used exclusively in an inn chamber or on a day in spring, for the kind of fire is specified. The sort less known has a distinctive prefix, "*sea*-coal," indicating that it came by sea to London; just, as in modern times, we say "*char*-coal," the more general term indicating fossil or mineral coal. In some of the

earlier plays of Shakspeare the word is used in a different sense; as when Aaron says of the infant, that it is "coal-black" (*Titus Andronicus*, A. iv., S. 2); or when, in the first line of *Romeo and Juliet*, Sampson says— "O' my word, we'll not carry coals."
This is a provincial expression still in use, meaning "we'll not submit to degradation;" like "we'll not be hewers of wood or drawers of water."

A quarter of a century further on, viz., in March, 1627-8, there was discovered a Jesuits' college at Clerkenwell; and as the house did not appear to be furnished in any respect differently from an ordinary gentleman's residence, it is interesting to see the provision of fuel which was laid up:

"Item, half a thousand of billets, and two chaldron of *sea-coales*, taken by Mr. Long, for his own use, and by him prised [valued] at xxx viij$^{s.}$"

The London chaldron consisted of 36 heaped bushels, and the Newcastle of 72. We have some guide to the comparative value of these articles in another item, appraised at the same sum:

"Item, a pewter cesterne, one flagon pott, three pewter candlesticks, one small dish and a sawcer, foure stone juggs, one little brasse bell, seaven knifes, eleven forks, seaven pewter salts, six carthen salts, and 21 greene glasses, xxx viij$^{s.}$"

It was about this time that the proverb originated, "to carry coals to Newcastle;" but other proverbial expressions, having reference to coals and fire, had originated long previously. Jamieson mentions several in the Supplement to his great Dictionary, but in general, they are not known in Ireland. The expression, however, "to blow at a dead coal," will be recognized as indicating fruitless labour. Thus a person wishing to light a candle at a turf ember, and trying to excite it to a blaze, finds that it has become extinct. Brockett[c] says that the expression to "call one over the coals," is derived from the ancient ordeals or appeals to God by fire; and this is not at all improbable. In the *Promptorium Parvulornm*, compiled about the middle of the 15th century, the living coal and dead coal are distinguished:—

Cole of fyre, brynnynge: *Pruna.*
Cole, qwenchyd: *Carbo.*

The Latin words are not very correctly assigned, for *pruna* indicated a red coal,[d] but not blazing; and *carbo* one either fiery red[e] or not so.

About 1680, Charles II. granted a patent to his natural son, the Duke of Richmond, entitling him to 1s. per Newcastle chaldron, on all coals shipped at Newcastle for consumption in England. In the earlier years, this could not have amounted to a large sum, but it was a revenue which grew rapidly, both from increase of population and enlarged use. In 1835, the coals consumed in London averaged nearly a ton per head, as compared with the population; but a century and a-half before,

[c] North County Glossary, 8vo.
[d] Nunquam ad *flammam* ungi oportet, interdum ad *prunam*. *Cels.*
[e] Cum carbo vehementer *perlucet*. *Pliny*.

when London was not equal to one of the largest provincial capitals, the consumption of 'sea-coal' probably did not average half a ton per head. At present, the home consumption of England and Wales is probably about thirty millions of tons, or a ton and a-half per head, as compared with the gross population.

In Ireland, coals have been later in coming into use, for various reasons. Many of our most flourishing counties of to-day were nearly depopulated at a time when England had possessed a settled government for centuries; so that the wheels of social progress have moved forward with more tardy revolutions. But even since the Plantation of Ulster, the forests had to be felled, after which the people possessed an article of fuel which is the rule in this country, but exceptional in England. The physical formation of the Island,—with mountain tufts around its sea margin, and a hollow centre,—has led, with other collateral causes, to the formation of turf-bogs; and on a small scale, every hollow possessed a portion of it. Large areas of this black earth have passed through the intermediate condition of moor-land, and become at length fertile fields; a remarkable example of which may be seen in the parts of the parishes of Blaris, Hillsborough, and Moira, which lie towards the banks of the Lagan. The whole district is still called "The Bogs," occupying the site of the half-fabulous Loch Ryle, and "ye pace," or the Pass of Kilwarlin.

In the close of last century, some of the turf bogs began to be exhausted, and the attempts to procure fuel led to the riots on the Maze Course, in 1773 and 1775, between the men of Kilwarlin and Broom-hedge, resulting finally in the murder of a man called Gray. During the rebellion of 1798, when the insurgents were allocating prospectively the property of the neighbouring gentry, one small farmer, whom I knew in boyhood, objected to take for his share an estate in the parish of Dromore, because there was "no Bog in it." But even in the first quarter of the present century, coals were little known in the North of Ireland, except in the better class of town houses, and also among smiths and other artisans. A parliamentary paper gives the shipments of coals to Ireland in 1829 as 840,246 tons; and adds that the rate of increase had been for some years steady, at 100,000 tons per annum. If it had been so for only six years previously, the coals used in Ireland in 1823 amounted to not more than a quarter of a million of tons, when the population exceeded seven millions; that is to say, a ton to about every thirty people. This fact, however, is partly explained by the small prevalence of manufactures.

Many of the old people objected to the smell of coals, and could not believe that turf fires had any smell, though they admitted it in the case of wood fires, or bramble, especially whins or furze. Not only has the prejudice disappeared, but the preference is rapidly turning the other way. It is now found that the most smoky town in the British dominions, Birmingham, is the freest from epidemics; that cholera has never obtained a footing there; and that the carbon appears to act as a merciful and permanent disinfectant.

In the progress of a large town, a few years constitute a historic epoch. Many of your

Belfast readers will recollect the Falstaff form of that prince of good fellows, Billy Massey, and also the numerous touters and hangers-on called porters, who carried the bags of coals from the small vessels to the carts on shore. With a black empty sack over the shoulder, and an equally grim visage, each seemed, when looking out for customers, like a visitant from the infernal regions. These men levied a tax of 2s. per ton on the merchant, that is to say, on the consumer: and so strong was their combination, that they enforced the payment of it, whether they brought the customer to him or not, or even if they had rendered no assistance. This impost was known as "the old man." But peace to their ashes, they have passed from the scene; and while Ireland reserves in her bosom the mineral treasures for future ages, and bides her time, it is pleasant to glance at the small beginnings of a great and growing branch of industry, as exemplified in each of the three kingdoms—

The English is not the only language in which the same word has been used, or is still employed, to designate both charcoal and pit-coal. In modern French, we find *charbon-de-bois*, and *charbon-de-terre;* but in the ancient Langue d'Oc, and in the dialect which prevailed throughout the South of France, including Gascony, the same word, *carbou,* served for both. The following extract is given from the interesting and rare *Dictionaire Languedocien François*, 2 vols. 8vo, Nismes, 1785:—

Carbou, Du charbon, de la braise. Nous confondons ces deux derniers termes, parce qu' ils ont un nom commun en languedocien. Les charbonniers font le charbon dans les bois, et nous le vendent au poids.

La braise est du charbon éteint ou allumé de nos cheminees, ou des boulangers, et toujours des débris du *bois qu'on y brûle.*

Carbou, Du charbon de terre, du charbon minéral, de la houille. On ne la trouve communément que dans les terrains et parmi les rochers graveleux; plus il est profond et humide, meilleur il est *pour les forges.* Il est ordinairement par veines ou filons, plus ou moins épais, paralléles, et séparés l'un de l'autre par un lame de rocher.

Carbou, charcoal, live coal. We confound these two latter terms, because they have one name in common in the dialect of Languedoc. The charcoal-burners make the Charbon in the woods, and sell it to us by weight.

The live coal (la braise) is the extinguished or burning coal of our domestic fires, or of the bakeries, and it is only the waste portion of the wood that is burnt there.

Carbou; earth coal, mineral coal, pit-coal. In general, this is found only in the ground, and among gravelly rocks: the more deep and moist it is, the better for forges. It is usually in veins or beds more or less thick, which are parallel, and separated from each other by a partition of rock.

A. Hume.

SYDNEY'S MEMOIR OF HIS GOVERNMENT IN IRELAND.

(*Concluded from Vol.* v., *page* 315.)

"And being in the cittie of Dublin, I grew wearie of idlenes; for albeit the warres were somewhat hot in Conaght, yet was the diligence and activitie such of Sir Nicholas Malby,[a] as neither the English Pale or army felt it, other than such as were of his own particular regiment, for he so well governed the good subjects as they were contented to yield unto him service, victual, and wages, and those my impositions I think holden yet: and the rebells and their favourers be so persecuted as he fed most upon them, and made gayn of them.[b]

I leaving the cittie of Dublin, jorneyed in peacable manner through the counties of Kildare, Carlogh, Kilkenny, and Washford, in all places houlding sessions by commission of *oyer* and *terminer*, as orderly and civilly as it had been in England, and had great and civill appearance of gentlemen and freehoulders, who yelded very just trial of malefactors.

I came home by the sea syde, through the countrey called Base Leinster, in a general word, but partycularly the Cavenaghes, then ruled by Captain Thomas Masterson;[c] and well were they ruled, for the people were obedient, quiet, and ritch. Then through the O'Moraghe's country, governed by Richard Synod,[d] a gentleman of the county Washford. I went through the three countrys of the Kynchiloghes, where Thomas Masterson was captain, and so into the O'Byrne's country, and through the O'Toole's country, then governed by the good captain and counsellor, Francis Agard, and so home to Dublin.

In trouth, Sir, all these Irish people, albeit their country were not shired, yet lyved they as loyally as any people in the shire ground, and they entertayned me as well (when I travayled among them) as I could wish to be entertayned any where. They were ritch, and everything plentiful in their country, no waste land but (as they terme it there) it bare corne or horn. And

[a] *Sir Nicholas Malby* was specially recommended by Walsingham to Sydney. He was a successful and distinguished military commander, and became, latterly, governor of Connaught. Captain Barnaby Gooch writes from Athlone, 11th March, 1582-3, during the rebellion in the south-west, that all in the west "was kept in order by fear of Malby, whose common dalliance was *veni, vidi, vici!*" The stern old governor had died in the previous week.

[b] This remark reveals a powerful motive for the "persecution of rebels,"—whose wealth could sustain, and whose lands would reward. Cowper speaks of those who made war a trade.

[c] *Sir Thomas Masterson*, an English officer who had served long in Ireland, with honour and distinction. He was made Constable of Ferns Castle, County Wexford, one of the largest fortresses in Ireland; and was afterwards seneschal of the county. His eldest son, Sir Richard, succeeded him in these offices.

[d] *Richard Synod*, or Synnott, was head of the Strongbonian family of this name, owned large estates in the County Wexford, and bore a high character as governor of the north-eastern portion of the county, then inhabited by the Irish.

whereas they were wont to buy their bread in Dublin, or barter for the same by giving fire-wood, they were then able to sell corn not only in Dublin, but by boats to send it to Carrigfergus, and other parts of the north of Ireland where corn was deer.

Being thus in great quiet in the English Pale, and all the same in such wealth and quiet manurance of their soyle as the ouldest man alyve never saw it in the lyke, some of the barons and other principal gentlemen thereof grudged greatly at the bearing of the soldiers, and made divers grievous complaints in the name of the commons; but indeed the cause was for that the country, being reduced into such quiet as they mistrusted no warres to come, loathed then those who had brought them to the same, which was the army, and looked to exact all that of the poor commons which they yelded to the fyndyng of the soldiers.

When they found that their complaints prevayled not, they fell to exclamation, and manifestlie to impugne the Queen's prerogative, saying that the Queen had no such by lawe as to impose any charge upon the subject, without consent of Parliament.

I had in this few helpers, for truly there was few in the English Pale thoroughly sound for the Queen's prerogative and profitt, saving Sir Lucas Dillon and his whole lynaige, farre the best of that country breed; he and they most manfully and constantly stood with the Queen in defence thereof. The chefe opposers of them against the Queen were the Baron of Delvyn, the cowerdest and most malicious man, both for religion and English government, (I think) that Ireland then bare. There joyned with him the Lord of Howth, the Lord of Trymbleston, and the Lord of Killeyne, and divers other knights, principal gentlemen and lawiers, among whom Nicholas Nugent, the second baron of the exchequier, and since executed for treason, was one.

Fynally, all the principall landlords of the English Pale confederated, and in their conventicles connived against me, and her highness's prerogative. There did no nobleman manyfest himself to be on the Queen's part, but the Lord of Shane, and the Lord of Upper Ossory.

Lastlie, they concluded and accordingly sent their agents to the Queen's most excellent majesty, exclayming upon me for my cruell, unlawfull, and intollerable exactions, with all other defamatory speaches that they could have any colour to speake against me.

Then was I dryven to search ould Records, and so did I many; the which recordes many yeres before, I myself being Treasurer there, had layed up, and dressed a house for the conservation of them and others; little thinking then that the Queen's prerogative, of such antiquitie as it was proved to be by the same, should ever have been brought in question; but by those ancient records it appeared that that imposition there called Cesse,[e] from the tyme of King Edward III. at tymes, and at the appointment of the governor and council, had been used, until that time.

[e] *Cess.*—The questions of the legality and abuses of this levy were handled by Sydney with his usual energy. This exaction was an assessment or cess, (apparently derived from the Gaelic word *cios*, *i.e.* rent,) for the support of the military in the service of the crown. The accounts of its abuses, and the entire question of its use, bear so intimately on the social condition of Ireland at the period, that the ensuing details have their interest:—

In this serch the chancellor, then William Gerrard, singularly well did assist me, and in the avouching and pleading the same; and yet afterwards (according to the skittishness of his busie head) he joined with the country, though underhand and secretlie, to overthrow my honorable and profitable designes both for the Queen and governor for the tyme, and for the crowne and country for ever, as it manifestly appeared after.

The Earl of Desmond at this time addressed an appeal to Lord Burghley, against the abnses of the existing method of maintaining the military throughont the eountry, and which he thns plainly details:—"Certainly," wrote the kind-hearted Irish nobleman, "a great many are burdened with eesse that, if your lordship had sene them, you would rather give them your eharitable alms than burden them with any kind of ehardge;—whose dolefull exelamations are so pittiful, as if your honour herd of the same, your lordship would in heart lament it. For example, the poor man that is nott able, by his daylie travell and labour, at night to finde himself, moche less his poor wife and famylie, mnst, instead of the meat he hath not, delyver to every horseman that is cessed upon him xx pence sterling per diem; and notwithstanding, the same horseman goeth to take meat of the next neighbour, as poor as the first. So that every horseman that is cessed is sure to take up, besides horse-meat and man's meat, (as I said before,) 20*d.* per diem. And a thing which is worse, the poore oppressed man on his back, if otherwise he hath no carriadge, mnst carrie 5, 8, and 12 myles for the soldiers' horses so many sheaves of the poor man's otes as the horseboies will appoint him. And if he go not therewith a good paee, thongh the poor soule be overburdened, he is all the waye beaten outt of all measure. This chardge is manifest to be imposed withont any necessitie of serviee at all. And if there were any neeessitie, I assure yonr honour, the nombre of those that here are eessed are little able in any extremitie to helpe. Nevertheless, as they are an intolerable burden to the poore, so the same doth redound to their particular gayne; and in any degrec, no kind of eomoditie growe to her Majestie, nor her highness' treasure nothing spared." Lord Burghley makes the following marginal note on this last sentence:—"If the Queen's treasure were not spared by the cess, then it seemeth the soldiers had pay besides cess." The fact was, the royal treasury in Dublin was usually empty, so that whenever the soldiery were sent on service, they werc neeessarily quartered on the inhabitants of the seat of war.

In March, 1576-7, Lord Chaneellor Gerald wrote to the Secretary of State, Walsingham, to whom Sydney's memoir is addressed, respecting the agitation and "great arguments" against the legality of Cess; stating that the Queen's eounsel eould not, with indifferenee, maintain the prerogative of cessing withont the sanetion of parliament, whieh was the anchor-hold of the arguments advanced by the Irish lawyers. The Lord Chaneellor also mentioned another argument, which is now less remarkable as bearing on an obsolete historical question, as in showing the state of subjection to which the Gaelie ehieftains had reduced the English of the Pale, who, "in most plaees, paid black-rent to the Irishry beforc the soldiers came over;" referring, probably, to the times of Henry VIII. These black-rents, as Gerard writes, were afterwards ordered to be paid to the governor for the maintenanee of soldiers, for making trenches, bnilding castles, and fencing the Pale. The legality of the exaction of eess was warmly disputed by the Anglo-Irish party mentioned by Sydney, who were good lawyers, and who eventually procured its abolition. On the 20th June, Sydney wrote to Walsingham, reeommending that "the intolerable cess," amounting to £9 a plough-land, be discharged for twopence per aere. On the 10th February, 1576, the English Privy Conncil wrote to Lord Deputy Sydney on the eess qnestion thus:—"And touching the last point, for sending thither [to Ireland] of Lawyers, a matter most requisite, and whereof we have had and have verie great eare; but such opinion is conceived of the barbarism there, and so small are the gaines and entertcignment there, in respect of that it is here, for men of that vocation, as at all tymes when any have been chosen to be sent thither for that purpose, as you now require them, they do ever make some meanes to Her Majesty whereby they be staied." In a paper of January, 1577, cess is described as "a prerogative of the Prince to impose on the country a proportion of victual," to be delivered at "the Queen's price," which was often considerably lower than the market price. Thus, eows were demanded at the rate of 8s. or 9s. each; wheat

I then, to make declaration that I delited not in the exaction, offred them in sondry publike assemblies (that where they had exclaymed that the burthen and charge of the Queen's army and my houshold came to £x. or £xii. sterling upon a plough-land), that I would discharge them for £3 6s. 8d. sterling the plough-land yearly, to be paid at a day certayne.

Yet this contented not the great ones, but still they repyned at any charge, tearming it to growe upon no just prerogative of the Queen, and to them was an intollerable and endles servitude. But when this matter came into the comons' heads it cannot be tould with what joye and plausibilitie, manifested with letters subscribed with scores and hundreds of names, yea, whole townships, cantreds, and baronies, of thanks to me for it. They accepted the same, and readily made payment thereof to the hands of Robert Woodford, an honest and sufficient gentleman yet lyving, then clerk controller of my houshold, and appointed collector thereof; who imediately paid it over to Sir Edward Fytton, then treasurer, as by both their accompts yet extant doth and may appear. When I had brought this to passe I thought I achieved a great enterprise, and accomplished an ould conceit of myne own. The sum came to £2,400 sterling, and all paid to the treasurer saving £100, which was staid for decision of a controversie about fredom chalenged for certain lands, as farr as I remember, by the Earl of Kildare and Sir Nicholas Bagenal. The improvement of that rent methought was honourable and profitable for the Queen, easie for the subject, and good for the governor,

at 2s. 8d. or 3s. the peck; and sheep at 1s. each. The soldiery are represented as insolent and oppressive; they laid hands on what they liked, from the daughters of the farmer on whom they were quartered, to his "pair of new hose and russet mantle;" and they ate his fowls and drank his whiskey.

Justice Myagh writes, 15th October, 1582, to the Lords Justices, from Kinsale—"It would grieve your lordships' hearts to see the misery of the loyal subjects of the country; for, what the rebels leave behind, the cessor comes and takes away." He adds—"The best of the rebels and the wolves lodge together in one inn, on one kind of diet and bedding."

Some fraudulent officers used to dismiss Englishmen from their companies, because these resolute soldiers would insist on receiving regular pay; and admitted, in their place, Irishmen into the ranks, clothing them in the English fashion, and giving them English names: for these men, being accustomed to subsist on coigny and livery when serving chieftains, retained this habit when enlisted,—so that, by these means, their pay was dishonestly retained by their captains. About this time (1582), Lord Poer, of Curraghmore, wrote, complaining that a certain captain of horse, quartered on his lordship's estate, required fire, candles, and bedding for his men, while his lordship's tenants, who were subject to these extortions, did not "dare remain in their houses, but got them to knocks [hills] and groves, for fear of their lives." Sydney himself tells us that, on one occasion, he hanged the captain and all the officers, with some twenty of their men, of a Scottish auxiliary band serving under him; and that, besides, as many more of the troop were hunted down and killed by the regulars, as punishment for the extortions they had been guilty of in the County Kilkenny. Likely enough, these army extraordinaries were irregulars in every sense, and carried out the Highland cateran principle of self-reliance for food: but excesses must have risen to a high pitch, when so severe an example was requisite. Sydney, in his advice to his successor, Lord Grey, says—"Let one of the principal officers of your household have a care for the collection of your cess for the same. And now, *ut uno verbo dicam*, never agree to compound without [stipulating for] cesse; for if you take money, it will be made a great matter here, [in England,] and yet not serve your turn there." This curious passage shows that the Lord Lieutenant's household was still maintained by tributes of raw produce.

in respect of having the soldiers in readiness; for the Queen and crowne should have had £2,400 starling more than ever it had, the people should not have paid above two-pence starling out of an English acre, and all this should have layen within six shires of the English Pale.

By this means should the soldiers have been kept together, to the great ease of the country, disburdenment of their boys, boores, and doggs, and a number of other insolent actions, which is impossible to bridle them from, unlesse they lye so together as they may be kept under disiplyne; synce therby should moch have been furthered, for it is better for the governor to serve with 500 so garrisoned and together lodged, than with 1,000 over the country dispersed.

But still, and almost weekly, I received to my heartie grief, that I was a costlie servant, and alienated from her Highness her good subjects' heartes. Would God the charges of my times were compared with others as well before me as synce me, and openly shewed, and then I trust I should be more indifferently judged of. And what consolidation of these good subjects' hearts hath been synce my coming away, the quartering and heading of a good many of them hath made some shew; and more might have been (yea, and justlie) if the immense mercie of her majesty had not been. But to whomsoever this device was hard or softe, to use it was most heavie, for I to wyn this improvement to the Queene and crowne for ever, gave over all cesse for anything pertaining to my houshold, but paid readie money for everything, to my undoing.

Now, Sir, to return to the commonwealth-men, (for so they called themselves,) I mean the messengers of the repyning malcontents of the English Pale, who then were at the Court, and there had better audience than either they or their cause deserved, and still vexed me with letters carrying matters of hard digestion, and sending copies of the same to their coparteners, who sometymes published them with triumph over me, upon their ale-benches or ellswhere they would, before I had received the originall letter. I thought good partlie to justifie my doings, but chiefly to mayntayne Her Majesty's prerogative, and purchase her profitt, to sende over the lord chancellor with matter of ancient recorde to replie against the oppositions made by the malcontents against her majesty's prerogative. I furnished him with the aforewritten records, with as good enstruction as I could give him, and with honourable allowance by the day as long as he should be employed about that matter, and money out of myne own purse, and sondry bills to be made acts of Parliament. Among which one was for the enacting of this new rent or imposition, which I was sure I would have made pass by Parliament. He went, and so well did in defence of her highnes' right, as two of the three lewd legates, namely, Burnell[f] and Netterville, were committed to the Tower, and the

[f] *Burnell*, who took the leading part in patriotic opposition to the much-abused custom of cess, was head of one of the oldest families of the Pale, seated at Balgriffin, in the metropolitan county. As Dugdale sets forth, the Burnells of Acton-Burnell, Shropshire, were a knightly Norman house, in the two centuries succeeding the Conquest, and became peers of parliament. A scion of the house, Robert, held lands in Ireland, England, and Normandy, in the reign of Henry II., whose son granted to Ralph Purcell, his 'hostiarius,' and Burnell's nephew by marriage, his uncle's lands. *(Carew MS.* 610, *f.* 4.) John Burnell, of Ballygriffin, Esq., was attainted for taking part in Silken Thomas's rebellion.

third, the ouldest and craftiest of the three, named Barnaby Scurlogh,[g] ordered to submit himself in form, as I would appoint him in Dublin; which he did, and I received in more meke sort than he had desyned of me. For the rest of the chancellor's negotiations I will write nothing, but this, that nothing he did for any other matter according to my instructions, and nothing he brought me back again (no not so much as that bill for her Highnes' honorable profit), but speeches delivered that it was a thing impossible, a thing intollerable, a matter dangerous, and might breed universall rebellion in the realm. Well he did for himself, for he brought over a license, which he held at £3,000 to be sould, and was to the utter overthrowe of an act made by me in my former goverament, I am sure the most beneficialest for the commonwealth that ever (any one act) was made. He also brought an order to enlarge, and without my privytie in my absence did enlarge, the forenamed repynants, whom I held prisoners in the Castle of Dublin; and to them he would give better countenance than to those who most constantly had stood in defense of the Queen's right, I mean Sir Lucas Dillon, and (he that is now) Sir Robert Dillon, and the rest of that syrname; in trouth to the true and sound subjects and advocates, as it well appeared. For as sone as I was goan, he made Nicholas Nugent (displaced by me from the second baronship of the exchequier, and committed to the Castle of Dublin, where he found him prisoner for his arrogant obstinacie against the Queen) chief-justice of the common pleas; and others he placed in good offices whom he knew were neither fast in the Queen's right, nor friendlie to me. I wisse (sir) I deserved better of William Gerrard then so.

These things I confess had well nere broken my heart; and left the sword I would, and gone over without leave, though I had adventured the getting of the Queen's displeasure, and losse of myne own lief, had not an obscure and base varlett called Rorie oge O'Moore[h] stirred.

This Rorye was the sonne of another Rorye, sometime, but never in my tyme, chief of the O'Moores, and captain of the country called Leish (now the Quene's Countie), who married the daughter of the Earl of Ormond. This younge Rorye, after the execution of his kynesmen before remembred, Caer Mackedo and Lyssa Mackedo, in my absence grew to more strength than was convenient to have been suffered, and called himself O'More, and so to patronize his worshipful

[g] *Barnaby Scurlock*, descended from a Strongbonian family, originally of Scurlog, in Carmarthenshire, resided at Fraynes Castle, County Meath, and held an office under the crown in that county. In Carew MS., 608, he is stated to be "best experienced in the laws, of modest behaviour, and honest." It is plain that, in the legal controversy led by him, Burnell, and other Anglo-Irish lawyers, against the Government, they had justice on their side; for the exaction of cess had become a much-abused privilege.

[h] *Rory Oge O'More*, chieftain of the O'Mores of Leix. His mother was daughter of Pierce, eighth Earl of Ormond, so that he was first cousin to the tenth peer, to whose instigation Sydney ascribes his rebellious actions. Sir G. Carew writes—"This Rorie Oge was a notorious rebell; he burnt the towns of Naas, Leighlin, and Catherlogh, and took Sir Henry Harrington and Captain Cosbie prisoners, anno 1577; and at last was slain in rebellion." O'Sullivan gives some details of his actions. Derrick wrote a special poem about him, which is reprinted in Somers's tracts, with a curious wood-cut, representing the "arch-rebel" wandering as an outlaw, wrapped in a mantle, in the forest of Ophaly.

person over and upon the whole country of Lesh. I will not say, though I could probably gesse what counsell he had and assistance to and in that his rebellion; but sure I am that one Danyell, the Earl of Ormond's secretary, confessed to me, and that *sponte*, the Earl of Ormond had willed and counselled him never to submit himself as long as I or any for me should make warre upon him;[i] signifying and prognosticating many things, as my disgrace with the Queene, the mislike and likelihood of revoult against me of the English Pale, with many more things too many to be written.

Against this companion I advaunced, being of horsemen and footemen a right good force; I went into his fastest places, but never would he fight with me, but allways fled, and was secured in the county of Kilkenny, and under and with the Butlers. When I sawe that he would not abide me, nor I could not overtake him, and having other matters of great weight for the realme to do, I retired myself and the army, leaving behynde me in Mary-Borough, the principal town and forte of that country, my lieutenant Sir Harrie Harrington, my most deere sister's son, and likewise lieutenant of the King's County, in ould time called Ofaley.

He so well prosecuted the rebells that in short tyme he dismounted them all, and drave them to be unarmed and breechless, and barefooted footmen, and in very poore and miserable case. But such was my nephue's desteny, and by persuasion of some about him, and his owne credulitie, that when he had brought the rebell Rorie to so lowe an ebbe, as he besought him to admit him to a conference; after which the traitor said he would submit himself, and the same sware: he came to a parley with him undiscretely, for there was he taken and carried away captive most vilely, to my heart's grief, for I loved him and do love him as a sonne of my owne; and the rebel kept him most miserable.

I wrought and sought his enlargement by the best means I could, but nothing prevayled without such conditions as I would not have enlarged Philip my sonne.

Then made I as actuall and as cunning warre as I could upon the vile villanous rebell, and still my men prevayled, but still he kept my nephue miserably, carrying him from place to place in deserts vile and most travelsom places; yet through the faithful service of a faithful countryman of myne, a Kentishman, I mean Robert Harpoole, an invetcrat soldier of that country, I had harbored this malicious traytour, who had my unfortunat nephue with him. I bescтt his cabanish dwelling with good soldiers and excellent good executioners; the rebell had within it twenty-six of his best and most assured men, his wief, and his marciall's[k] wief, and Cormagh O'Conor, an auncient

[i] Such counsel had often proceeded from the great earls of Kildare and Ormond of former days to insurgent chieftains, in order that the Viceroy of the time might fall into disgrace, and that they might then be invested with the sword of government. But Sydney is too prone in endeavouring to fix the stigma of fostering rebellion on Ormond, of whose success and power he was jealous.

[k] This mention of O'More's marshal incidentally corroborates other accounts showing that every great chieftain had an officer of this name.

and rank rebell, of long mentyned in Scotland, and at last (but too soone) reclaymed from thence by the Queen our mystres, and with stipend as a pencion sent to Ireland; who, returning to the vomit of his innate rebellious stomach, went to Rorie Oge, and tooke part with him in his rebellion; and in that place and time was by a man of myne, called John Parker, killed. There were also killed his wief, and all his men; only there escaped himself and his marshall, called Shane mac Rorye Reogh, in trouth miraculously, for they crept between the legges of the soldiers into the fastnes of the plashes of trees.[1]

Rorie Oge confessed, and so did the wief of his marshall, whom the soldiers saved, that the skyrts of his shirt[m] was with an English sword cut from his bare bodie; but this assault and confliet being done in the dark night, the villanous rebell fell upon my most dear nephue, being tyed in chaynes and him most shamefully hacked and hewed with my nephue's own sword, to the effusion of such a quantity of blood as were incredible to be tould. He brake his arm with that blunt sword, and cut off the little finger of one of his hands, and in sondry parts of his head so wounded him as I myself in his dressing did see his braynes moving; yet my good soldiers brought him awaye, and a great way, upon their halberts and pikes, to a good place in that country, where he was relieved, and afterwards (I thanke God) recovered.

During this serviee, and before his unhappie apprehension, I went to the Newry, and thither come to me Torlough Lenogh, (the ladie his wife not being able to come, through a hurt she had,) but well had she counselled him as it appeared, for most frankly and familiarly used he me, coming to me against the will of all his counsellers and followers, protesting he so moeh trusted and loved me, as he would not so moeh as onee aske hostage or protection. He brought above £400 sterling to the town, and spent it all in three dayes;[n] he eelebrated Baeehus' feast[o] most notablie, and as he thought, moeh to his glorie; but as many hours as I could gett him sober, I would have him into

[1] It was an Irish method of fortifying a forest, to "plash the trees," that is, to interlace the branches of felled trees, so as to form impenetrable breast-works.

[m] This mention of the Irish shirt merits comment, since I think that even antiquaries do not quite comprehend what it was. I am of opinion that, in earlier times, it formed the sole summer garment of men who could afford to have one; that it was formed of many ells of strong unbleached linen; and that, being thickly plaited about the hips and thighs, it resembled the form of the present Highland kilt.

[n] Very characteristic and national. Moryson, the great traveller, declares that the Irish gentlemen of this time would sometimes ride into a town—not a frequent occurrence—sell their horses, drink out the price in Spanish wine, and then go home a-foot.

[o] *Bacchus's Feast* was often solemnized by the chieftains of the day; and Drogheda, as a sea-port where the wines of the Continent were imported, was a favourite place of meeting for Ulster bacchanalians.

In one of the printed inquisitions, there is mention of a house of entertainment in Drogheda, known by the enticing name of "the Castle of Comfort." It is said to have been so called, because King John having resided in the original house, on his failing to return to it, some men took possession of, and held it as their castle, rent free. Subsequently, it became a hostelry. It was built of wood, in the fashion of the curiously carved oak houses that formerly stood in that town, as mentioned by Taaffe, who says:—"I have seen wooden houses in Pilnitz, Reichenau, and other towns of Bohemia and Germany, but none of such curious and elegant, as well as durable workmanship."

the eastle, where he would as reverendly (as his little good manners did enstruct him) speak of the Queene, eraving still and that most humblie, that he might be nobilitated by the Queene, and to hould his lands and seigniories of her majesty by rent and serviee; and there ratified all former peeee made between me and him, and the Earl of Essex and him. Thus he being well satisfied, and I very joyous of so good a eonelusion, departed in most loving tearmes, he to his eamp, where among all his people he used a long speeeh of the majestie of the Queene, and my great bountie; indeed some plate and other trifles I gave him.

I retorned to Dublin, and by the way reeeived letters of my nephue Harrington's unfortunat taking, and miserable captivitie, whieh abated great part of my joy. Of his taking, keeping, and delyvering you have already heard.

Whiles I thus laye at Dublyn I understood that the Earl of Desmond,[p] still repyning at the government of Sir William Drury, and upon a short message sent him by Sir William, fell into a frantyke resolution, and whereas he purposed to have kept his Christmas in Youghall, he sudenlye brake off that determination, and went into Kerry, and straightway assembled forees; and had I not taken the ball at the first bound, he had undoubtedlie used violence against Sir William Drury and his people, who were not many. I straightways addressed me to Kilkenny, and thither I sent for Sir William Drury, the Earl, and the Countess his wief; they eame all to me, the earl was hot, wilful, and stubborn; the eountess at that tyme a good eounsellor. Sir William Drury eonfessed some fault, but fynally (though with much ado) I made them frendes, and a sound pacifieation of all quarrells between them, and sound it eontinued as long as I eontinued governor there. But not longe after, (as you knowe,) upon like oeeasion as before is noted, he and his two brothers, Sir John and Sir James, fell into aetual rebellion, in which the good knight Sir William Drury, then Lord Justiee, died; and he, as a malicious and unnaturall rebell still persisteth and liveth.

The Christmas (1578) ended, wherein I entertayned the earl and the countess as well as I

p *Gerald, sixteenth Earl of Desmond.*—Resuming some account of this rebellious nobleman's proceedings during the government of Sydney—whose memoir throws new light on them, yet requires some additional illustration of the secret history of the Earl's eventful life and fall—our notices may proceed from the date of his release from the Tower in 1573. On his arrival in Dublin he was placed under the custody of the chief magistrate, Fagan, of Feltrim, whose generous hospitality, during his tenure of office, is recorded by Stanihurst. But the mayor magnanimously informed the government that, as his guest, the Earl was most welcome to his house, but that he would never become his jailor. Under such liberal guardianship, and permitted to walk abroad on parole to return at noon and night, Desmond, telling his host that he was going out to hunt for the whole day, but that he would see him in the evening, dishonourably made his escape; and, accompanied by a few attendants, and moving only during the dark, reached, by three nights walking, his own territories, where, say the annalists, he was soon joyfully surrounded by hundreds of his own troops. The date of his escape is 16th November, and not St. Patrick's day, as the annalists have it. [*S. P. O.*] Their statement, that he immediately assembled a large force, is borne out by despatches, which add, that he and his adherents wrote letters to the King of Spain, requesting him to aid them in their rebellion. He then retook Castlemartyr and Kilmallock from the English, and within a short month re-established his sway over his vast territory, and restored the native clergy and monastic orders to the churches and convents of the country.

could, and presented them both with silks and jewells, not a little to my costs; I fell then into houlding of sessions by commission of *oyer* and *terminer*, but in person I would never be on the bench, for that the Ormonists should not say that I was there by speech or countenance to engreve any matter against them. And though I were as moch thwarted by some of them as might be, yet had I a great nomber of that county endicted, according to the laws arrayned, judged to dye and executed, for abetting, favouring, and ayding Rory Oge: this matter remaynes of recorde.

Dyvers of the principall gentlemen would in the night, and as it were disguised, come to me, protesting they durst not in the day time be seen to do so, for fear of the Earl of Ormond. They did give me good information of matters of weight, and I them the best enstruction I could. The earle in England still exclaymed that I laye there to no other end but to make myself ritch by the spoile of his country, saying that I paid for nothing that I tooke, which was utterly untrew; for not only my houshold officers but all others that followed me, payed readie monie for every thing they took in any town where I came. And when the earl of Ormond was so said to by Mr. Waterhouse, some tyme my secretary, he answered that his officers had written so to him: "Yea, my Lord," quoth he, "there is difference between writing unsworne, and speaking upon othe, for here is in writing the examination and confession of divers your principal officers, who all not only clere my lord my master, and his officers and men of all extorcious dealing with any your people or followers, but also affyrme that they never wanted justice with favour in all their and your causes." This (good sir) can Mr. Waterhouse declare at large unto you, if it please you to give him the hearing.

After the unfortunate taking of my said nephue Harrington from the rebell, I placed a contynuall presidie or garrison to persecute the rebell, as with Sir Nicholas Malby, the good Captain Collier, before written of, Captain Furres, the valiant Captain Mackworth, and others, as I thought good, but lastlie and most effectually under the Baron of Upper Ossory, my particular sworn brother, and the faithfullest man for the Queen's service for martiall action that ever I found of that country.[q]

He so diligently followed and prosecuted the rebell as within a few moneths with great skill and conning he harboured him, and with as much or more courage assayled him; he not having the third man the rebell had, as some will say, not the sixth, made the best fight with him that ever I heard of between Irishmen. The slaughter was great on both sides, but the vile rebell Rorie was

[q] Lord Upper Ossory was an open enemy of Ormond's, and hence, in some measure, the partiality so frequently expressed by Sydney. Faction, which always governed Ireland, appears here to have sharpened this nobleman's sword against the supposed friends of his foe. His success against Rory oge O'Moore is one of the many instances in which the native nobility of Ireland proved more serviceable against rebellion than the regular English commanders. Shane O'Neill was subdued by the Scots; Desmond was vanquished by Ormond; the Kavanaghs by the Butlers; and the O'Moores by their neighbours and kinsmen, the Macgillapatricks.

killed by a household servant of the Baron's; his marshall aforenamed escaped, and the rebell's bodie, though dead, so well attended and carried away, as it was the cause of the death of a good many of men on both sides; yet carried away he was. But not long after, his head was sent me, and sett up upon the Castle of Dublin; for which I had proclaymed 1,000 marks to be given to him that would bring it to me, and £1,000 to him that would bring him me alyve.

The valerous and loyall baron of Upper Ossory, when I offered him the 1,000 marks (by proclamation promised), answered that he had received by nurture under the good and religious King Edward VIth. more good, and by pension greater gayne, confirmed by the Queen's most excellent majesty, than his service deserved; and in fyne would take but £100 to give among his men which were the fighters; and that I paid him out of myne own purse, and he distributed it to them, most of whom I knew. I could not obtayne at any time a letter from her majesty of thanks for this service, nor in long tyme from the lords of the council. This action thus ended, I lothed to tarrie any longer in Ireland, and yet before I went I invaded MacMahon's country, prayed, burned, and totally destroyed the same, in revenge of a shamefull murther committed by him in killing a valiant and noble man called the Lord of Louth, and as towardlie a yonge gentleman as ever I knew of the Irishrie, son and heir to Sir Hugh MacGennis, knight, lord and captain of the country called Evaugh. I so plagued that vile bloodie churle as, within short time after my departing out of Ireland, he came to the Newry to Sir William Drury with a withe about his neck, and in that form submitting himself he obtained his pardon, which he knew full well he should never have gotten at my hands, and his withe should ever have served him but only to hang him, for had I taried but a few moneths longer, I would have made him answer *secundum jus talionis*.

I lothed, I say agayne, to tarry any longer in that land, for that I saw the Queene make so little account of my service in killing that pernicious rebell, and was contented to be persuaded that there was no more difficultie to kill such a rogue as he was, then to kill mad George the sweeper of the Queen's courte. But such a rogue he was that he burned all the good towns in the counties of Carlow and Kildare, as the town of Carlow and the Naas, &c. He had killed, before I could get himself killed, four hundred fighting men; their names I had in severall lists sent me by the severall captains aforenamed, and yet all this counted no warre, but a chastisement of vacabounds.

It greeved me not a little that Her Majesty rejected those bills which I sent to be allowed to be made lawes, whereof many had been devised by me, and by my instruction penned, specially that bill which was to give the Queene the rent before written; which bill I verilie think with all the rest were quashed by the advice of that ambitious Chancellor Gerrard. I found so little consideration in the most of the gentlemen of the English Pale, and such unthankfulness in some great ones, both which sorts I had greatly benefitted, as I was wearie any longer to live among them. It yrked me not a little to see the ambitious and disdaynfull dealings of the Chancellor, who glorying

of the great credit that he had won of her Majesty (which indeed was more than his worth) that he would not lett to say, but not in my hearing, that he had brought over sueh warrant for himself and restraint for me, as I could do nothing without him; he still hastning me away, gloriously braving behind my back that if I were gone, and the new justiee ruling by his direetion, Ireland should be governed with a white rodd.

But the noble knight and warrior Sir William Drury, not many months after my departure, found that he had need to rule with white rodds as long as speares and morris-pikes, and with swordes whited as white as blood would whiten them; in which service he died, and I would to God the eountry was yet as well as I lefte it almost fyve years agoe.

Thus leving the same in universall quiet, I passed by seas and eame into England, earrying with me the ould and arch-rebell the Earl of Clanrickard, and a sonne of his ealled William, who synee for treason and rebellion was as a traytor and rebell executed.

When I came to the Court to know how I was entertayned, I eonfess well, but not so well as I thought, and in conscience felt that I had deserved. The arch rebell whom I brought, the forenamed, you know how and by whom he was eountenanced. Lastlie, though well approved, and by the most honourable board of the privy eouncil, he was enlarged, dismissed, and sent home, to my small credit.

Notwithstanding all these my paynfull services, I was aceompted *servus inutilis*, for that I had exceeded a supposed commission; a conferrence indeed there was that £20,000 should defray all the charges of Ireland, as well ordynarie as extraordynary, and of this I ofte hard to my great discomfort; the which I answered not either with boste or desert of my serviee, or shewed any great confidence but that it might be, as that it in *prima facie* appeared, that I had exeeeded the sum of £20,000 yerely, nor in trouth I cared not moch, for in sound conscience I felt it, that I had spent nothing but honourably and profitably for the Queene, and for the seeurity of the country. And although somewhat I had exceeded in spending Her Majesty's treasure, I had too far exceeded in spoyling my own patrymoney; but synce being curious to know what the charges were in the tyme of that my government, (by Sir Edward Fytton's accompts, all that time being treasurer,) it appeareth that, reasonable and due allowances granted me, I am within the bounds of that £20,000 a yere.

This accompt was there engrossed and sent to my lord treasurer, the eopie whereof was sent to me by Thomas Jenyson, auditor in Ireland, and his letter written to me with his own hand, purporting the effect of the last written matter; I have his letter and the eopie of the accompt. But yet I most hartely and lovingly besech you that you will write to him, willing him to signifie unto you truely and at large, of the charges of that my tyme of government; eharging him that you have heard that he had written to me in sorte as I have declared, which if you shall receave from him in manner as may be to my advantage, I hope you will frendly and brotherly use it to that purpose.

And thus an end of my Irish discourse: and now to my great and high offiee in Wales, which

I yet and long have happely and quietly held, having served in it full thre and twentie yeres. A happie place of government it is, for a better people to governe, or better subjects to their Sovereign, Europe holdeth not. But yet hath not my lief bene so domestically spent in Wales, and the swete marches[r] of the same, but that I have been employed in other foreign actions.

For besides the three before-mentioned Deputations in Ireland, I was twise sent into France; ones into Scotland; twise to the sea-side to receave the duke John Casimere, and Adolph, duke of Holst: these two last journeys, though they were but Kentish, yet were they costlye,—it may be it was more of a Kentish courage than of depe discresion, well I remember allowance I had none, nor yet thankes. I was sent and did remayne a good while at Portsmouth, in superintending the victualling of Newhaven. Oftentymes I was sent for, and commanded to attend about the Court for Irish causes, to my great charges.

Truly (Sir) by all these I neither won nor saved; but now, by your pacience, ones agayne to my great and high office; for great it is in that in some sorte I governe the third part of this realm under her most excellent majesty: high it is, for by that I have presedencie of great personages, and farre my betters; happie it is, for the people whom I govern, as before is written; and most happie for the comoditie that I have by the authoritie of that place to do good everie daye, if I have grace to one or other; wherein I confesse I feel no small felicitie, but for any profitt I gather by it, God and the people (seeing my manner of life) knoweth it is not possible how I should gather any.

For alas, sir, how can I, not having one groat of pension belonging to the office; I have not so much ground as will feede a mutton; I sell no justice; I trust you do not here of any order taken by me ever reversed, nor my name or doings in any court (as courts there be whereto by appeal I might be called) ever brought in question. And if my mynd were so base and corruptible as I would take money of the people whom I command, for my labour (commanded by the Queen) taken among them, yet could they give me none or very little, for the causes that come before me are causes of people mean, base, and many very beggars. Onely £20 a-week to keep an honourable house, and one hundreth marks a yere to bear forreyn charges I have; what house I keep I dare stand to the report of any indifferent man, and kept it is as well in myne absence as when I am present, and the councillors fare as well as I cann be content to do, but trew bookes of account shal be, when you will, showed unto you, that I spend above £30 a weeke; here some may object that I upon the same kepe my wife and her followers. True it is, she is now with me, and hath been this half yere, and before not in many yeres; and if both she and I had our foode and house room free, as we have not, in conscience we have deserved it. For my part I am not idle, but every day I work in my function, and she for her ould service and marks (yet remaining in her face) taken in the same meriteth her meate. When I went to Newhaven I left her a full fair

[r] The counties of England bordering on Wales, called Marches, because the lands were said to march or join there. Hence the office of "Lord Marchez," or military commander of such border districts.

ladie, in myne eye at least the fayerest, and when I retorned I found her as fowle a ladie as the small pox could make her; which she did take by contynuall attendance of her majesty's most precious person, (sick of the same disease,) the skarres of which (to her resolute discomforte) ever syns hath done and doth remayne in her face, so as she lyveth solitarilie *sicut nicticorax in domicilio suo*, more to my charge than if we had boarded together, as we did before that evill accident happened.

It is now almost one hundreth yeres synce this house was erected, and I am well assured that neither the Queen's most honourable household, nor any downward to the poorest ploughman's house can be kept as they were forty years agoe, yet have I no more allowed me than was allowed forty years agoe. I confesse I am the meanest and poorest man that ever occupied this my place, and yet I will and may compare I have continued in better and longer housekeeping than any of my predecessors; I have builded more and repayred more of her Majesty's castells and howses, without issuing of any money out of her highnes' coffers, then all the Presidents that have been this hundreth years; and this will the view of the castles of Ludlow, the castles of Wigmore and Montgomery, and the house of Tickenhill by Beawdeley justefie.

And thus I end any further treating of my other great office of Wales, confessing both the one and the other to have been too high and too honourable for so mean a knight as I am; yet how I managed these offices I will take no exception to the reporte of publique fame. With all humbleness and thankfulness I confesse to have receaved the same of Her Majesty's mere goodness, and more too; for she hath made me one of her Privy Council; and, that which was to my greatest comfort, she hath allowed me to be one of that most noble Order of the Garter whereof I have been a Companion, and I am sure the poorest Companion that ever was, now full nineteen years.

In these four dignities I have receaved some indignities, which I would I could as well forgett as I can refrayn to write of; and thus an end for my publique estate: and now a little (deere sir) for my private. Lett me with your patience a little trouble you, not for any cause that I fynd, or you shall see that I have to bragg, but rather to shew my barenesse, the sooner I do it, for that I hope ere it be long, of frends and ould acquayntaunces we shall be made more than frends, and most loving brothers, in all tender love and loving alliaunce.

When I was but ten years of age, and a while had been henchman to King Henrie the eight, I was by that most famous king put to his sweete soune Prynce Edward, my most deere master, prynce, and sovereign, the first boye that ever he had; my nere kinswoman being his only nurse; my father being his chamberleyn, my mother his governess; my aunt by my mother's syde in such place as among meaner personages is called a drye nurse, for from the tyme he left sucking, she contynually lay in bed with him, so long as he remained in woman's government.

As that swete prynce grew in yeres and discresion, so grew I in favour and liking of him, in such sort as by that tyme I was twenty-two yeres ould, he made me one of the four principal gentlemen

of his bedd chamber. While I was present with him he would allwayes be cheerfull and pleasant with me, and in my absence give me such wordes of praise as farre exceeded my desert. Sondry tymes he bountifully rewarded me, fynally he allwayes made too much of me: ones he sent me into France, and ones into Scotland. (N.B.—My going to Scotland for the libertie of John, Earl of Warwick, and his brethren.) Lastly, not only to my own still felt grief, but also to the universall woe of England, he dyed in my armes.

Within a while after whose death, and after I had spent some moneths in Spain, neither liking nor liked as I had been, I fancied to live in Ireland, and to serve as Treasurer; and had the leading both of horsemen and footmen, and served as ordynarly with them as any other private captaine did there, under my brother-in-law the Earl of Sussex, where I served during the reign of Queen Mary, and one yere after. In which tyme I had four sondry tymes, as by letters patent yet appeareth, the Government of that country, by the name of Lord Justice; thrice by commission out of England, and ones by choice of that country; such was the great favour of that Queen to me, and good liking of the people of me.

In the first jorney that the Earl of Sussex made, which was a long and great and an honourable one, against James Mae Conell, a mightie captain of Scotts, whom the Earl of Sussex, after a good feight made with him, defeyted and chased him with slaughter of a great number of his best men; I there fought and killed him with my own hand, who thought to have overmatched me. Some more blood I drue, though I cannot bragg that I lost any.

The second jorney the Earl of Sussex made into those quarters of Ulster, he sent me and others into the Iland of Raghlyns, where before, in the time of Sir James Croft's deputation, Sir Raulf Bagenal, Captain Cuffe, and others sent by him landed; little to their advantage, for there were they hurt and taken, and the most of their men that landed either killed or taken. But we landed more polletiquely and saulfly, and encamped in the Isle untill we had spoyled the same of all mankynd, corne, and cattell in it.

Sondry tymes during my foresaid governments I had sondry skyrmishes with the rebells, always with the victorie; namely one, and that a great one, which was at the verey tyme that Calleys was lost. I at the same tyme, being Christmas holiedayes, upon the suddeyn invaded Fyrkall,[s] otherwise ealled O'Molloy's country, the receptacle of all the rebells; burned and wasted the same; and in my retorne homewards was fought withall by the rebells, the O'Conors, O'Mores, and O'Molloy, and the people of Mackgochigan, albeit he in person was with me in that skirmish. I receaved in a frize jerkin (although armed under it) four or fyve Irish arrowes; some blood I drew with my owne hands; but my men beat the rebells well, and truely went through their paces,[t]

[s] *Fercall* was the country of the O'Molloys, a clan whose history is briefly epitomised in the publication of "Obits of Kilcormick," in the Irish Arch. Misc., vol. i., p. 99.

[t] Passes or openings cut through the woods.

straights, and woods lustily, and killed as many of them as saved not their lives by running away, among whom the chief captain called Callogh O'Molloy was one, and his head brought me by an English gentleman and a good soldier called Robert Cowley.[u]

I taried and encamped in that country till I had cut down and enlarged divers long and strait paces, whereby the country eversyns hath been more obedient and corrigible; somewhat more I did, and so I did as the country well spoke of it, and well judged of it, and I received from the Queen comfortable and thankful letters signed with her own hand, which I have yet to shew; and when I was sent to her, (as I was ones or twise,) most graciously she would accept me and my service, and honourablie speake of the same, yea and rewarded me.

The rest of my lief is with an overlong precedent discourse in part manyfested to you, which I humbly and hartelie desire you to accept in good part. Some things written may haply be misplaced or mistymed, for help had I none either of any other man, or note of myne, but onely such help as my ould mother-memorie afoorded me out of her stoore. But this to your little comfort I cannot omitt, that whereas my father had but one sonne, and he of no great proof, being of twenty-four years of age at his death, and I having three sonnes, one of excellent good proof, the second of great good proof, and the third not to be despayred of, but very well to be liked, if I dy to-morrow next I should leave them worse than my father left me by £20,000, and I am now fifty-four yeres of age, toothlesse and trembling, being five thousand pounds in debt, yea and £30,000 worse than I was at the death of my most deere king and master, King Edward the VIth.

I have not of the crowne of England, of my owne getting, so moch ground as I can cover with my foote; all my fees amount not to 100 marks a yere; I never had syns the Queen's reigne any extraordinary aid by license, forfeet, or otherwise; and yet for all that was done, and somewhat more than here is written, I cannot obtayne to have in fee farm £100 a yere, already in my own possession, paying the rent. *Dura est conditio servorum.*

And now deere Sir and brother, an end of this tragicall discourse, tedious for you to read, but more tedious it would have been if it had come written with my owne hand as first it was; tragicall I may well tearme it, for that it begann with the joyfull love and great lyking with likelihood of matrimoniall match betweene our most dere and swete children, whom God blesse, and endeth with declaration of my unfortunate and hard estate.

Our Lord blesse you with long lief and healthful happiness, I pray you Sir, comend me most

[u] *Robert Cowley's* surname is one of universal interest, being that of the paternal line of the illustrious Duke of Wellington. It is a question whether the Duke's ancestors came, as peerage-books assert, from England; or were of an old Anglo-Irish Kilkenny family. Many state-papers exist manifesting the extraordinary ability of this Robert Cowley, a memoir of whom, comprising a searching investigation into the origin of the Cowleys, is a desideratum.

hartely to my good Ladie cowsen and sister your wief, and blesse and busse our swete daughter. And if you will voutchsauf, bestowe a blessing upon the young knight Sir Philip.

From Ludlow Castell, with more payne than haste, the first of March, 1582-3.

Your most assured fast frende and loving brother.

[Not signed.]

Memorandum to be incerted in some place. A greate expedition done by my appointment from Mullengarr in West Meath upon Tirlogh Lenogh in Tyrone, which made him ever after the more humble. It was done by Sir Nicholas Malby.

Note.—In the warres with Rorie oge I lay for the most part at Monaster Evan, confronting with the rebele, in which tyme I hanged a captain of Scotts which served under captain Malby, and all his officers, and I think very nere twenty of his men; and by Captain Furrs and his company many or more of them killed, and all for extorcions done by him and his people upon the earl of Ormond in the county of Kilkenny; and yet he still complayned he nor his could have no justice of me.

During my abode there I began the bridge of Carlo, over the great ryver of Barrow, which shortly after was fynished to very good purpose.

I builded a Tower for the gard of the bridge over the great ryver called the Great or Black Water in Tyrone; the bridge being builded by the earl of Essex. I builded and newlie erected six or seven severall gaioles.

De his et de premisis consule,

Dillon, Malby, Waterhouse, Mullineux.

FINIS.

[For the notes and introductory remarks accompanying 'Sydney's Memoir,' in this volume and the preceding one, we are indebted to our correspondent, HERBERT F. HORE, Esq.—*Edit.*]

GLEANINGS IN FAMILY HISTORY FROM THE ANTRIM COAST.

THE MACAULAYS AND MACARTNEYS.

It would be difficult to trace the name of MacAulay to its original form, or determine the country to which those who first bore it originally belonged. The general impression is, that the progenitors of the MacAulays were Northmen, who visited the British Isles at various times in the capacity of marauders, or perhaps occasionally as colonists. The oldest forms of the name on record are *Amlaf*, *Amlaib*, *Aulaib*, and *Olaf*, which occur frequently as designations among the northern Vikingar, and which are now anglicised *Aulay* and *Amlay*, in the surnames MacAulay and Macamley. The name does not appear in the Annals of Ireland until the year 851; and Dr. O'Donovan thinks that it "was never in use among the Irish until about the close of the eighth century, when they adopted it from the Danes, with whom they then began to form intermarriages." He states, however, that the name *Amhalgaidh* was known among the Irish from the earliest period of their history, that it also is now anglicised *Aulay*, and is possibly of cognate origin with the Dano-Irish words already mentioned, although not precisely identical with them.[a]

The Annals of Ulster, at the year 851, record an invasion of Ulster by *Amlaib*, the King of Lochlin (Norway), and the exaction by him of a tribute from the inhabitants. In 856, we read of a great army in Meath, commanded by Amlaib and Ivar, and composed of Norwegians and Irish. The latter were commanded by a native Irish chieftain, named *Cearbail*, or Kervel. In 865, *Amlaib* and his chieftains, followed by all the Northmen in Ireland and Scotland, plundered the Picts. In 867 he burned the city of Armagh, massacred many of the inhabitants, and carried away vast quantities of valuable booty. In 869, Amlaib and Ivar (who seems to have been a royal personage also) blockaded Dublin for the space of four months, and afterwards destroyed the greater part of the city. In the following year, they returned to Dublin with 200 ships, landed with booty from Scotland, and carrying a multitude of English, Welsh, and Pictish prisoners. A prince named *Amlaff* was

[a] Battle of Magh Rath, pp. 242 and 290.—The following notice is preserved in the *Book of Lecan*: "Carn Amhalgaidh, *i.e.* of Amhalgaidh, son of Fiachra Elgaidh, son of Dathi, son of Fiachra. It is by him that this carn was formed, for the purpose of holding a meeting of the Hy-Amhalgaidh around it every year, and to view his ships and fleet going and coming, and as a place of interment for himself."—See *Petrie's Essay on the Round Towers*, p. 108.

"In Tirechan's Annotations on the Life of St. Patrick, preserved in the Book of Armagh, a MS. supposed to be of the seventh century, we find it stated that 'when Patrick went up to the plain which is called Foirrgea of the sons of *Awley*, to divide it among the sons of *Awley*, he built there a quadrangular church of moist earth, because wood was not near at hand.'"—*Ibid.* page 126.

slain at the battle of Temora, in the year 979; and in 980, Amlaff, described as the last Danish king of Dublin, retired from his, no doubt very troublesome, position, to find rest and peace in the holy island of Iona. The descendants of these Amlaffs had *Mac* prefixed to their names, and we often afterwards meet with the surnames of MacAmlaibs, or MacAmlaffs, anglicised generally *MacAulays*, and sometimes *Macamlays*. In the same way, the name was introduced into Scotland, and seems to have been more generally adopted there than in this country. In the year 976, *Olave MacOlave*, or Aulay MacAulay, the king of Albany, was slain by Kenneth, son of Malcolm, an event which is recorded by Tighernach and the Annals of Ulster. The Amlaffs or Aulays, and afterwards the MacAmlaffs, were numerous in the north of England, and came, no doubt, from the same northern stock.[b]

But the Isle of Man and a few of the smaller islands off the Scottish coasts, (dependencies for a time of Norway,) seem to have had peculiar attractions for this race. The name there took the form of *Olaf*, or *Olave*, which seems to have been drawn directly from the North. In the year 1102, Olave, or Aulay, was elected King of the Isles (including Man), and reigned forty years. He was a pacific prince—or perhaps he should rather be described as a politic ruler, since he contrived to live during his long reign in such close alliance with Irish and Scottish kings, as not only to afford them no pretext for attacking his dominions, but induced them, on the contrary, to protect him against the assaults of others. His queen, Afreca, was daughter of Fergus, prince of Galloway. One of his daughters was married to Somhairle, or Sorley, thane of Argyle, and ancestor of the MacDonnells. Olave was treacherously slain, in the year 1142, by his own nephew, at the harbour of Ramsö, now Ramsay, in the Isle of Man, while engaged at a conference. In 1143 he was succeeded by his son Godred, who reigned thirty years, during a long period of which he had to contend for his throne against the attempt of Somhairle, his brother-in-law. He left his crown to his youngest son, Olave or Aulay, a boy of only ten years of age; but the inhabitants of Man preferred to have Ronald, or Randall, the half-brother of the latter, to rule over them. Randall gave to his brother Olave, the Lewis, which, although much larger than any of the other isles, is comparatively barren. When the latter had resided in that sequestered place for a time, he discovered that the island was not sufficient to afford to him and his followers the bare necessaries of life. He went, therefore, to his brother, and thus confidentially addressed him:—"Brother, my Lord and Sovereign, thou art aware that the Kingdom of the Isles is my birthright," (as being the only *legitimate* son of his father,) "but as the Almighty hath appointed thee to rule over them, I envy thee not this dignity. Let me only entreat thee to bestow upon me some province in which I can live creditably, as the Lewis, which thou hast assigned to me, is unsufficient for my support."

Randall did not meet him, however, in the same brotherly spirit. His selfish fears were instantly

[b] Chalmers's *Caledonia*, vol. i., pp. 337, 338.

awakened, and he had Olave bound and sent to Scotland, where he remained in prison for seven years. At the end of that period William, King of Scotland, issued an order for the release of all prisoners throughout his kingdom, and the Manx prince was thus restored to liberty. He returned directly to the court of his unkind half-brother, in Man, and soon afterwards went on a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James of Compostella. On his return he married the daughter of a nobleman in Kintire, a sister of Randall's queen, and was granted the Lewis once more as a place of residence. Not long after his marriage he was divorced from his wife, by the authority of the Church, because of her being the cousin of a woman who had formerly lived with him as wife or concubine. Randall's queen, enraged at the separation of her sister, soon fomented a quarrel between her husband and Olave. She privately instigated her son Godred, then residing at the island of *Skye*, to visit the Lewis for the purpose of slaying Olave. The latter, however, had notice of the assassin's approach, and escaped, with a few attendants, to the castle of *Ferchar*, thane or Earl of Ross, whose daughter, Christina, he had married soon after his divorce. His hasty exit from the Lewis left the island without protection, and when Godred landed he pillaged the place, and massacred many of the inhabitants.

Olave or Aulay, in conjunction with one Paul Balkason, (who is described as a brave warrior, and sheriff of Skye,) determined to return Godred's bloody visit, and not finding the latter at his usual residence in Skye, they followed him to Iona, two miles distant, where they cut to pieces all his people, and perpetrated certain barbarous cruelties on his own person. This affair happened in the year 1223. Aulay's blood seems now to have been thoroughly up, for in the succeeding summer he and his friend Paul made the tour of the islands, exacting hostages from all the insular chiefs as they proceeded, and concluded the voyage by casting anchor, with a fleet of thirty-two ships, off the Isle of Man. This proceeding brought Randall to reason, and he agreed to a partition of the Kingdom of the Isles with Aulay; an arrangement which was not satisfactory, however, and as in most other similar cases, the sword was made the arbiter between the contending parties. Randall was assisted by Alan, the prince of Galloway, and others of his queen's connexions; but Aulay was the more popular with the Islesmen, and had help from their simple hearts and strong arms. The result was, that the sceptre of the whole island-kingdom was wrested from Randall's grasp, after he had held it for the long period of thirty-eight years. He attempted to regain what he had thus lost, but was slain at the battle of *Ting-wal*, in Man, on St. Valentine's Day, of the year 1228. Aulay died in St. Patrick's Isle, on the 12th of June, 1237, and was interred in the abbey of Rushin, in Man, having reigned eleven years as sole monarch of the Isles, viz., two years during Randall's life, and nine after his decease. In 1265 his son Magnus died, and in the following year the sovereignty of Man and the Isles was transferred to Alexander, the Scottish king.[c] The *Olavesons*, or MacAulays, for some centuries afterwards continued to hold a leading and influential position in the Isles and

[c] See *Chronicon Mannia et Insularum*, at the dates above mentioned.

on the Scottish coast. The Lewis (written in modern Gaelic *Leodhas*, and in early times *Leoghas*,) is still a home for many of the MacAulaidh, or descendants of Olave. They are settled at Uig, in the south-west quarter, whilst the Morrisons and MacLeods occupy the other portion of the island. These several families, although generally forming a confederation, have had many violent conflicts among themselves, and their old battle-fields can still be pointed to by their descendants of the present day. The MacAulays of the Lewis were represented at the commencement of the seventeenth century by Donald Cam MacAulay, a man remarkable for personal strength and daring. During a fierce struggle that raged between the Lewis-men and the MacKenzies, Donald Cam, or *crooked* Donald, as the nick-name implies, climbed up the perpendicular wall of *Carloway Castle*, at the dead of night, by means of a dirk in each hand, which he stuck in between the courses of stones as he ascended, and succeeded in overpowering the sleeping garrison. One of his descendants, a Presbyterian minister of Skye, was remarkable for bodily strength. Another, Aulay MacAulay, was a pastor in the island of Harris, and trained five of his sons as clergymen, and one, Zachary, was made a lawyer. Kenneth, one of the clergymen, was settled at Ardnamurchan, and wrote a *History of St. Kilda*. He had the honour of a visit from Dr. Johnson, whilst the latter was on his well-known tour to the Hebrides. The great critic was pleased to pronounce favourably on Kenneth MacAulay's book. The latter left two sons—Aulay, who settled in England, and John, who was grandfather of the late Lord Macaulay.[d]

Another branch of the ancient Amlaffs or Olaves settled, at a very early period, in Lennox, and for many centuries their representatives were the thanes or Earls of Lennox. From this house sprang the MacAulays of *Ard-na-Capull*, in Dumbartonshire; and from the latter are derived the MacAulays of the Glynnes of Antrim. Buchanan, of Auchmar, states that in his time [1793], "the principal residence of the laird of *Arncaple* is the castle of *Ardincaple*, in the shire of Dumbarton, situated upon the north side of the Frith of Clyde, opposite the town of Greenock."[e] In the same paragraph,

[d] See an interesting letter from Capt. O. W. L. Thomas, in the *Athenæum*, for March 31, 1860.

[e] A writer in *Notes and Queries*, (June 16, 1860,) adopts the common form of the word *Ardincaple*, and states that it means, in Gaelic, the 'promontory of the mare,' an interpretation, he adds, "exactly corresponding with a conspicuous feature of their lands on the shores of the Gareloch, Dumbartonshire." We make the following extracts from this very interesting letter, written by a gentleman signing *Joseph Irving*, Dumbarton:—"In accordance with a scheme of succession settled in 1614, Sir Aulay was succeeded in the property by his son Alexander, with whose grandson, Aulay, began the decline of the family (at Ard-na-Capull). He alienated a considerable portion of the estate, and burdened the remainder to maintain his wasteful expenditure. Among other children, Aulay had a daughter, Jane, married to Sir James Smollett, of Bonhill, father of Archibald, of Dalquhurn, and grandfather of the author of *Roderick Random*. Archibald, the successor of Aulay, was one of the Commissioners of Justiciary appointed for trying the adherents of the Covenant, in Dumbartonshire. His son Aulay sold the Laggarie and Blairvadden portions of the estate to Dr. George MacAulay, of London, reputed to be a cadet of the family. A nephew of the same name sold the last remnant of the once wide paternal inheritance. From the dismantled condition of the old castle of Ardincaple longer residence in it was impossible, and this Aulay, the last of the old stock at Ardincaple, sought a shelter for his

he states that "the next of that name to the family of Arncaple is the representative of Major Robert MacAulay, a gentleman of good estate in Glenarm, in the County of Antrim, in Ireland, in which county a great many of the surname reside."[f] On a tombstone in the old church-yard of *Layd*, near Cushindall, it is stated that the *first* of the Glenville family was Alexander MacAulay, of *Ferdincaple*, who came to Ulster in the Scotch army of Charles I. Ferdincaple is probably another name for *Ard-na-capull;* but a greater error is the supposition that the above-named Alexander was the *first* of the MacAulays who settled in the Glens. There is no doubt that they came to the Antrim coast with the MacDonnells, early in the sixteenth century, as the name occurs frequently in connexion with the district of Cushindall long before the coming of the Scottish force in the reign of Charles I. There are still the remains of an old pile of some description on the south-eastern slope of Trostan mountain, originally built by the MacDonnells and MacAulays. It is known in the locality as *Caislin Surleboy*, but of what character the erection really was—whether castle or cairn—appears to be a matter of doubt. McSkimmin regards the ruins as those of a cairn, and the tradition that both MacDonnells and MacAulays were concerned in its construction would lead to this conclusion; but the traditionary name (Caislin Surleboy) implies that the place afforded a temporary residence, at least, for that chieftain.

In the year 1613, there was an Inquisition at Carrickfergus, and the first name on the grand jury list was that of *Brian Boy MacAulay*, of the Glinns. The Alexander MacAulay who figures on the tombstone in Layd, as direct from 'Ferdincaple,' was the son of Brian Boy, and may probably have held a commission in the army of Munro, in Ulster. He married Alice, the daughter of Archibald Stewart, of Ballintoy, by whom he left a family. His eldest son, also called Alexander, inherited the family property at Glenville, and married Mildred, daughter of the Rev. Adam Reid, by whom the lands known as *Drumnagessan*, near Bushmills, came into the possession of the MacAulays. This property afterwards passed from the family by marriage of his daughter Rose to Archibald Dunlop,[g] to whom it was handed over as her marriage-portion, and with whose represen-

houseless head at Lagarrie, where he died, about 1767. I have not been able to trace the main line of the family after this; it may be quite correct—as stated by your correspondent, 'J. A. M.'—that the representation of this ancient house devolved upon John MacAulay, town clerk of Dumbarton about the close of last century. At least, one of the daughters and a number of the grand-children survive."

[f] *Brief Enquiry into the Genealogy and present state of ancient Scottish Surnames*, page 79.

[g] The Dunlops originally came from the Scottish island of Arran, and settled on the Antrim coast early in the seventeenth century. Bryan, or Bryce Dunlop obtained a grant of lands from Sir Randall MacDonnell, situated between Ballycastle and Ballintoy, but it would appear that some difficulty arose respecting the manner in which the lands were conveyed to him, and an Inquisition was held at Ballymena, on the 8th of April, 1635, to investigate the title. This business was conducted by Robert Adair, Wm. Houston, Robert Bath, and John Kearns,—the two former of whom are described as Esquires, and the two latter as Gentlemen. The following is a list of the names of the jury on that occasion, which includes the names and residences of the leading gentry of the County of Antrim at the period referred to, and as such, it is not without interest:—

Arthur Oge O'Neale, of Iveagh, Gent.
Cahill Oge O'Hara, of L. Kane, Gent.
Alex. Abernethy, of Antrim, Gent.
Alex. Houston, of Dennisean, Gent.
Geo. Jackson, of Antrim, Gent.
Charles Trueman, of Tullyragnah, Gent.
Robert Young, of Cloughmills, Gent.
David Moore, of Ballyhome, Gent.

tatives it remains at the present day. Besides his daughter Rose, Alexander MacAulay left one son, also named Alexander. The latter became distinguished as a lawyer: not, however, so much by any remarkable display of talent, as by severe application. He was appointed a King's Counsel at a time when that distinction was considered of much greater importance than at the present day. As a reward for his somewhat rigorous defence of ecclesiastical rights and privileges, he was elevated to the position of a Judge in the Consistorial Court. Mr. MacAulay had written several political tracts, but one in particular had attracted a large share of public notice. This pamphlet, entitled *Property Inviolable*, was published in the year 1737; and in its pages the author assails the Irish House of Commons in no measured terms, for taking *to itself* the right of deciding upon the claims of the clergy to the *Tithe of Agistment*. In 1763, he published *An Enquiry into the Legality of Pensions on the Irish Establishment*, and forcibly denounced the whole system. The concluding sentence will give our readers an idea of the author's sentiments on this question, as well as of his style in treating it:—"If such pensions be found on the Irish Establishment, let them be struck off, and let the perfidious advisers be branded with indelible characters of public infamy, adequate, if possible, to the dishonour of their crimes." During the greater part of his life, Mr. MacAulay had been an active and troublesome opponent to the English Government in Ireland, but his opinions and impressions in this respect were changed very much during the administration of the Earl of Hertford. In the year 1766, he published a tract in vindication of *Septennial Parliaments*, in opposition, as he states, to an author who, "under the mask of patriotism," had written to recommend the adoption of *Triennial Parliaments*. He had not the satisfaction of witnessing the estab-

Alex. Macnaghten, of Oldstone, Gent.
William MacPhederis, of Carnglass, Gent.
Richd. O'Hara, of Drumeagan, Gent.
Daniel Macaulay, of Drumeagan, Gent.
Laughlin MacNeale, of Dunseverick, Gent.
Neal Roy O'Hagan, of Dunseverick, Gent.
Danl. MacIvor Roy O'Neale, of Aghanlogher, Gent.

The above gentlemen, being duly sworn, stated that the lands in question had been alienated by the Earl of Antrim to Bryce Dunlop, and that "the alienation was made, the permission of our late Lord the King (James I.) not being had or obtained, and that all and each said premises were held, and are now only held, in fee by military service."

The first settler of the Dunlop family married Christian Stewart, the daughter of John Stewart, from Bute, who came about the same time, 1612, and was located at Ballintoy. Their son, Bryce Dunlop, married Jane Boyd, daughter of another Scottish house in the vicinity. Their son, John Dunlop, married Rose, daughter of John MacNeale, of Clogher and Ballymoy. The latter was a branch of the Dunynie Castle MacNeills. The female christian-name Rose prevailed in this family throughout all its branches. John Dunlop's son by Rose MacNeale was named Archibald, and was married to Rose, daughter of Alexander Macaulay, as above stated. The son John married Anne, daughter of Alexander Boyd, of Clare Park, near Ballycastle. The present representative of the family is Dr. Dunlop, of Drumnagessan. He holds the property originally granted to his ancestor by Sir Randall MacDonnell, consisting of the townland of Gortconny (*Gort-conaidh*, 'field of the Fire-wood,') and the Mill at Ballycastle.

The Dunlops were thus connected with the leading families of the district. Their original place of sepulture was Ramoan, where an old family tomb-stone, although now in a very shattered state, still preserves the name of Bryce Dunlop.

The writer is indebted for the above particulars to the kindness of Robert Givin, Esq. Coleraine.

lishment of *Octennial* Parliaments, which soon afterwards took place, during the administration of Lord Townsend. Mr. MacAulay died on the 13th of July, 1766, after a laborious life, devoted very much to the duties of his profession. He was member of Parliament for Thomastown at the time of his decease. He married, early in life, Margaret, the eldest daughter of Hugh Boyd, Esq. of Ballycastle. She died in 1782. Mrs. MacAulay was a lady of very superior attainments, and had the reputation of being a most exemplary wife and mother. The children of this marriage were two sons and two daughters. The eldest son, Alexander, was educated for the Bar, but settled on the family estate of Glenville, and married Julia, the daughter of Sir Archibald Acheson, afterwards created Viscount Gosford. Mr. MacAulay was High Sheriff for the County of Antrim, in the year 1766. He died in 1817, aged 83 years. The elder of the two daughters married Mr. Adair, of Ballymena, and the younger John Godley, Esq., of the County Armagh. The latter is described as a highly gifted and accomplished woman.

The younger son, Hugh Macaulay, became somewhat distinguished as a literary writer, and was believed by many people, both before and after his death, to have been the author of the celebrated Letters signed *Junius*. He was born on the 6th of April, 1746, at Ballycastle, County of Antrim, his mother's native place. Whilst attending a school in Ship-street, Dublin, he had as class-fellows, Lord Clare and Henry Grattan. Soon after the death of his father, in 1766, he removed to London, and became intimately acquainted with Edmund Burke, Sir Joshua Reynolds, David Garrick, and other members of the distinguished association known as *The Literary Club*. This youth—for Macaulay was only twenty years of age on going to London—supported a highly respectable rank solely by the efforts of his pen. He had been left a small property by his grandfather, Hugh Boyd of Ballycastle, but when it came into his possession, it was so encumbered with annuitants as to afford him very little assistance. His grandfather's will required that he should take the name of *Boyd*, which he accordingly did, without the ceremony of obtaining the license usually taken out on such occasions from the College of Arms. In 1776, Hugh Macaulay Boyd returned for a time to the county of Antrim, and seems to have had a deep interest in the result of the famous election which took place in that year. Assuming the *nom de plume* of "*A Freeholder*," he addressed twelve letters to the Independent Electors of Antrim in favour of James Willson, Esq., whom Boyd terms a "constitutional candidate," and whose election was enthusiastically won, mainly by means of these letters, in the very teeth of all the aristocratic influences of the county. These remarkable Letters were written, most probably, in the house now known as the *Mansion*, at Ballycastle, which was built by his grandfather, Hugh Boyd, in 1738, and is at present occupied by Alexander Boyd, the great-great-grandson of the latter. The first letter was dated the 5th of February, and the last on the 9th of April, 1776. They were written with an elegance and power worthy the author of *Junius*, whoever *he* may have been. Perhaps the opening sentences in the first of the series may be considered as a fair sample of the whole: "We are no longer sunk in the

dead repose of despotisms and long Parliaments; those stagnations of corruption and filth shall no longer poison the land. *Alba nautis stella refulsit*, the returning day-star of the Constitution again illumines the political hemisphere, and displays to us the moment which restores to us our political rights: the power which we delegated, and the trust we conferred, reverts to us. The Constitution regenerates, and the new birth inspires new vigour. As the giant received renovation of strength from touching his mother Earth, so the rights of the people acquire new spring and force when brought back to their original parent source, the people's voice. . . . . The vital blood ebbs back to the heart of the Constitution. Let us imitate the wisdom of Nature, and we shall attain its successful effects. Let us give the vital streams again to flow through their constitutional channels, for so shall the breath of the whole body be restored, and its strength re-established. Every part of it shall revive and flourish. The ghastly countenance of poverty and servitude shall brighten into the smile of happiness and the triumph of liberty." The "*Freeholder*" had it all his own way, although the name of the writer was unknown during the electioneering struggle, and was only discovered afterwards from a small portion of the manuscript copy which the printer at the *Belfast News-Letter* office had neglected to destroy. There was no doubt, however, as to the authorship; and it is rather remarkable that the teachings of the *Freeholder* are so little known or appreciated in the County of Antrim at the present day. The letters were republished, in a pamphlet form, from the columns of the *News-Letter*, soon after the election; but whether they ever appeared in any other shape afterwards in Belfast, I cannot say. The pamphlet containing them had no name on the title-page, not even that of the bookseller or printer. When Mr. George Chalmers anxiously hunted for a copy of it, he wrote to *Stephen Haven*, at Belfast, who had been Solicitor-General at the Bahamas, and received a reply from that gentleman, written on the 19th of October, 1799, containing the following passage:—"I will make a point of searching the booksellers' shops for the pamphlet you write for; the *Letters* are within the recollection of several of my acquaintance, who tell me they were written by a MacAulay-Boyd, who went to India with Lord Macartney."

But although forgotten now, the *Freeholder's* addresses seem to have done their work very effectively at the time. On reading over Mr. James Willson's several communications to the "Independent Electors of the County of Antrim," addressed to them from "Gillgorm," we suspect that Boyd wrote some of them also. The other candidates on that occasion were John O'Neill, (afterwards created Lord O'Neill), Seymour Conway, of the Hertford family, Hugh Skeffington, (afterwards Lord Massereene), and Marriot Dalway, of Bella-Hill. Messrs. Willson and Dalway, the popular candidates, were triumphantly elected; whilst the three candidates supplied from the three noble houses already mentioned were doomed to utter defeat. At a very numerous and highly respectable meeting assembled at Belfast, to celebrate the success of the independent interest, the following are a few—and only a few—of the *toasts* that were proposed and unanimously adopted:—

"*Prosperity to Ireland; and may her other counties imitate our example, and partake our success.*"

"*May the Electors of Ireland never choose those to represent them who are hired to betray them.*" "*May the spirit of the Constitution live, and may we never be haunted by the ghost of it.*" "*May the King lose his bad servants, and the people get good ones.*" "*The British Flag, and may it never fly in the face of its maker.*" "*The 1st of July,* 1690." "*The 18th June,* 1776, *and may it be to the County of Antrim what the 15th was to the British Empire—its complete Enfranchisement.*" "*Permanence and security to the independent spirit and the constitutional rights of the people.*" "*A speedy and happy reconciliation between Great Britain and America.*"

We fancy the *Freeholder* had something to do even in the matter of preparing these and numerous other similar "sentiments" for the mouths of our good citizens at that stirring period.

Equal, and if possible, greater enthusiasm prevailed throughout other parts of the county. The following extracts, from a letter dated *Ballymena*, June 22, may be quoted as an illustration:—

"On Thursday, the 20th instant, Mr. Willson dined here, on his return from being elected Knight of the Shire for this county. His entrance into this town was truly pleasing and magnificent, being escorted by at least 20,000 persons, whose acclamations and countenances bore the most expressive testimony of heartfelt transport, which exceeded anything I ever saw or heard of in this kingdom. The order and regularity which was observed in the arrangement of so great a number gave additional grandeur to their appearance. Ten thousand men, with blue cockades, and hearts elated by the restoration of Liberty to the county, went foremost in array; next to these, 400 free-masons, *attired in their jewels*, armed with carabines for the purpose of saluting, and preceded by a large band of music, and colours made for the occasion, descriptive of their different Lodges, and embroidered with various emblematical figures; to these succeeded 500 *young women*, habited in white, ornamented with blue ribbons, and carrying green boughs in their hands: the leader of those patriot virgins bore a large garland richly decorated, and the animated daughters of liberty closed their fair train with a female band of music, who, with infinite spirit and address, played *Britons strike home*, and several other tunes, suited to the joy of a happy multitude. Immediately after followed Mr. Willson, attended by the delegates of the several baronies, who so gloriously conducted the independent interest, and who will be revered by the latest posterity for their firm and virtuous exertions in the cause of liberty. A thousand horsemen terminated the procession, which, (exclusive of the multitudes that crowded through the fields,) occupied at least a mile and a-half of the road. During the dinner which followed, many patriotic songs were performed by the fair choir, in whose vivid looks the blushing glow of rural health and the genial fire of liberty seemed contending to emulate each other. The evening was concluded with bonfires, universal illuminations, and festivity."[h]

From Antrim Hugh MacAulay went to Dublin, and was called to the Bar during the Easter

[h] See an admirable volume entitled *Historical Collections relative to the Town of Belfast, from the Earliest Period to the Union with Great Britain*, pp. 133, 136. This volume was printed and sold by *George Berwick*, No. 1 North-street, 1817.

Term of 1776, by his new name, Hugh MacAulay Boyd. The attractions of London, however, were such as he could not withstand, and he soon found himself in that great world, or wilderness, once more. Athough he possessed almost every qualification necessary to constitute a great lawyer, it is to be regretted that he devoted his time and energies to the comparatively humble employment of writing occasional pamphlets, to meet the pressing wants of the hour. By this means he contrived to support his family in a respectable position; but unfortunately his own habits had become too expensive, and in the year 1780, he sought for and obtained the situation of second secretary to Lord Macartney, who was about to proceed on his well-known mission to India. He sailed in the same packet with his lordship, and arrived at Madras in the month of June, 1781. In addition to the regular duties of his office, he started a newspaper entitled the *Madras Courier*, of which he was both proprietor and editor, and which he conducted for a time with distinguished ability and success. In 1793, he commenced a series of periodical essays, under the name of the *Indian Observer*, which he published in a weekly paper called the *Hircurrah*. These essays were written in his usual elegant and vigorous style. The first number of the series appeared on the 9th of September, 1793, and the fifty-third and last, on the 16th of September, 1794. On the 19th of the following month, Mr. Boyd died, in the forty-eighth year of his age.

The Works of Hugh MacAulay Boyd, with an Account of his Life and Writings, by Laurence Dundas Campbell, were published in 2 vols. 8vo., 1798-1800. Mr. Campbell firmly believed, and ingeniously argued, that Boyd was *Junius*.

In 1816, George Chalmers, Esq., F.R.S., S.A., published a pamphlet entitled "*The Author of Junius Ascertained from Direct Proofs, and a Concatenation of Circumstances amounting to Moral Demonstration.*" In 1819, Chalmers brought out a new edition of the above, "*With a Postscript, evincing that Boyd wrote Junius, and not Francis.*"

Without wishing to attach any undue importance to the arguments put forward by the writers now mentioned, we think the statement of them will be interesting to Antrim readers, at least, and under this impression, we beg to present the following summary, derived principally from the pamphlet of Mr. Chalmers. We do not, of course, intend to cite *all* the arguments in detail, to prove that Hugh MacAulay Boyd was *Junius*, but such only as appear to bear more immediately on the great controversy, which time, instead of allaying, seems rather to render more intense every year:—

I. Our readers are aware that the Letters of Junius originally appeared in a London newspaper called the *Public Advertiser*. The printer of this paper, *Woodfall*, had a confidential apprentice named William Woods, who was permitted to open the letters and papers sent for publication to the office. This person regularly opened the letters signed *Junius*, as they arrived, and became, of course, quite familiar with the hand-writing. On being afterwards shown a *fac-simile* of Boyd's writing, which Lord Macartney pronounced to be *very exact*, Woods instantly, and without hesita-

tion, declared his conviction that it was written by the same hand which wrote the letters of *Junius*. His conviction was founded on the perfect similarity—the identical sameness, in fact—of punctuation and formation of the letters, which appeared to him to characterize the two specimens submitted to his inspection. The foreman in Woodfall's office and a journeyman also, named Burton, fully concurred in the belief and statement of William Woods.

II. A curious argument was founded on the fact of Boyd's absence, for a time, from London, during the period of the publication of the letters of *Junius*. Hugh Boyd, of Ballycastle, died in 1765, leaving a small estate to his grandson, Hugh MacAulay, *failing* a Hugh Boyd then settled in Philadelphia. In December, 1768, the latter died, without issue, leaving the path to possession clear for Hugh MacAulay, then residing in London. The news reached the latter in April, 1769, and at the end of that month he started for Ballycastle, to look after this property. Now comes a *curious coincidence*, at least. The *first* letter of *Junius* appeared on the 21st of January, 1769; Sir William Draper replied on the 26th; and during February and March *Junius* was chiefly occupied with this antagonist. The ninth, tenth, and eleventh letters of *Junius* were dated respectively on the 10th, 21st, and 24th of April. *There was then a pause in the work.* At the end of five weeks *Junius* reappeared in his celebrated letter to the Duke of Grafton, dated on the 30th of May. But let it be observed that, in the interval, Sir William Draper had published a letter dated from Clifton, which appeared on the 1st of May, and which, it has been argued, could not have been read by *Junius*, as the latter never replied to it, although it charged him with uttering falsehoods, and 'skulking in the dark, under the mean subterfuge of a mask.' The absence of Boyd from London, attending to his private affairs in the County of Antrim during this interval of five weeks, between the 24th of April and the 30th of May, is a circumstance to which the advocates of his identity with *Junius* attach prominent importance.

III. The next argument is supplied by *John Almon*, the well-known bookseller in Piccadilly. From a letter or statement written by him on the 10th of December, 1798, at Buxmoor, near Hemel-Hampstead, the following passage is quoted:—"In October, 1769, a meeting of the proprietors of the *London Evening Post* was held at the Queen's Arms, St. Paul's Churchyard. Mr. Woodfall, the printer of the *Public Advertiser*, was present. There was a conversation concerning newspapers, and other such topics, in the course of which something was said that caught Mr. Woodfall's attention, and he immediately remarked that he 'had a letter from *Junius* in his pocket, which he had just received, wherein there was a passage that related to the subject before them, and he would read it.' This letter consisted of three or four sheets of foolscap, and whilst Mr. Woodfall was reading one sheet, the other sheets lay on the table, and I saw them in common with the company then present, but did not take them into my hands. The moment I saw the hand-writing I had a strong suspicion that *it was Mr. Boyd's*, whose handwriting I knew, having received several letters from him concerning books. I took no notice of the matter at the moment; but the next time that Mr. Boyd

called on me, (for he was in the habit of frequently calling at my house in Piccadilly,) I said to him that I had seen a part of one of *Junius*' letters in manuscript, which I believed was his handwriting. He changed colour instantly, and, after a short pause, said, 'the similarity of handwriting is not a conclusive fact.' These were the first grounds of my suspicion."

In the same letter which contains these statements, Mr. Almon also mentions that during the time the prosecutions were going on against the printer and publisher of *Junius*' letter to the King, Mr. Boyd never once called on him (Almon), although previously he had been in the habit, regularly, of calling two or three times in the week. After the prosecution terminated, Mr. Boyd resumed his usual custom of visiting the book-shop in Piccadilly as before. Almon also states that during the publication of these letters the writer must have resided in London, which no gentleman of high rank would have done for the space of three years continuously (1769-1772), for the mere gratification of his political propensities. But Almon farther affirms that, of the many distinguished persons to whom the letters were ascribed, none were annoyed by the imputation, simply because *it was baseless as regarded them;* whereas, when it was merely hinted that *Mr. Boyd was Junius*, both he and his wife became seriously alarmed. Almon concludes by stating that Boyd concealed his authorship of the *Whig*, and that very competent judges had frequently declared, to his knowledge, there were passages to be found in it, equal in eloqnence and power, to any portions of the letters of *Junius*.

IV. Mrs. Boyd[i] positively stated that her husband commenced to write for the *Public Advertiser* at the close of the year 1768, and continued his contributions during all the period in which the letters of *Junius* were being published in that paper. She affirmed that he never took in the paper during those three years, but always made a point of seeing it somewhere else; that he was in the habit of placing his contributions *not* in Mr. Woodfall's letter-box, but in some penny post-office at a distance; that in their walks together he often asked her to post them, instead of doing so himself, and that she very soon began to suspect that her husband and *Junius* were identical. In one letter, No. 67, addressed to the Duke of Grafton, she was astounded to meet certain anecdotes respecting Lord Irnham, Miss Davis, and Mr. Nisbit, one of her guardians, which she had communicated in confidence to Mr. Boyd, and which she knew had been very carefully concealed by the parties concerned.

V. On the 15th of April, 1786, there appeared the following paragraph in the *General Advertiser:*—"When Lord Macartney went to Madras, it is well known that *Junius* went with his lordship. He made himself useful to his lordship by taking some speeches at the India House; no man had ever a better memory, or a better knack at taking speeches than *Junius*. He is a native of Ireland,

[i] "Hugh MacAulay Esq., of the Parish of St. Paul, Covent Garden, Batchelor, and Frances Morphy, of this parish, Spinster, were married in this church by License, this 29th day of December, 1767, by me, George Baxter." The bridegroom had not attained his twenty-second year, and the bride was younger, beautiful, and not without a respectable dowry.

and received his education at the college of Dublin." Although Mr. Boyd is not mentioned here by name, his wife deemed it necessary to send a friendly message to the office of the paper, requesting that no similar paragraph referring to her husband might be permitted to appear, as she feared such notices would injure his interests in India. Not satisfied with this, she enclosed the paragraph to Mr. Boyd, urging him to contradict it without delay, if not true, as he must be sensible that, should such a report gain credit, it would materially injure his prospects. But this request, although frequently repeated by her, was never complied with. Mr. Boyd replied to all the other portions of her letters in order, but never alluded to the report, either to deny or acknowledge its truth.

As the paragraph stated, Boyd was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, and was remarkable for his retentive memory. During his college days, he occasionally astonished his associates by repeating speeches *at full length*, which he had heard spoken in the Irish House of Commons.

VI. John Murray, of Murraythwait, Esq., a leading magistrate and deputy-lieutenant of Dumfriesshire, wrote as follows, on the 23rd of May, 1800:—"Colonel Diron, with whom I had lately a good deal of conversation on the subject of the writer of *Junius*, informed me that he was well acquainted with Mr. Boyd, at Madras, that he greatly admired his talents, as indeed everybody else did, and had not the least doubt of his having written the letters signed *Junius*."

VII. *M. Bonnecarrère* was sent by the French Government on a confidential mission to India, and whilst there, became acquainted with Mr. Boyd. They met frequently at the house of Sir John MacPherson, and on one of these occasions, Boyd confidentially admitted, to his French friend, that he was really the author of the letters signed *Junius*, but requested Bonnecarrère not to mention the circumstance to any one for the present. Long afterwards, in the year 1802, Sir John MacPherson and M. Bonnecarrère met again, in London, and the following reference to this question has been preserved by Sir John:—"In one of Bonnecarrère's visits to me, he saw the picture of the late Mr. Hugh Boyd in my library. He inquired earnestly about him, as they had met at many friendly parties at my house, in the year 1785, in Bengal. I told him that our worthy friend Mr. Boyd was no more, and that he died in India. 'Then,' said Mons. Bonnecarrère, 'I am at liberty to open to you a confidential declaration, which he made to me on an express condition, that I should not mention it to you in his lifetime, viz.: that *he was the author of Junius' Letters.*' M. Bonnecarrère added, 'this communication took place one night that we remained alone at your table, in the Government House, and he seemed most anxious that I should not mention the fact to you.'"

Such, then, are some of the principal arguments which have been employed to identify *Junius* with Hugh MacAulay Boyd, and although they do not amount to positive proof, they at least supply "evidence to go to the jury in support of the affirmative." We leave the matter simply as we found it, without venturing to express an opinion one way or other, but protesting against the dogmatic style in which Boyd's qualifications as a writer have

been ignored, or disparaged, by some who had their own particular theories about Junius to support. Such persons have probably never read Boyd's *Whig*, or his *Freeholder*, else they might have wavered somewhat in the conclusion that he was incapable of writing the letters signed *Junius*. It is believed that those among his intimate friends and associates who could form an opinion on this subject did not hesitate to express their conviction that his literary powers and political information peculiarly fitted him for such a work. Lord Macartney, although he did not believe that Boyd was *Junius*, believed that he was *quite capable of writing* those now celebrated letters, and his lordship's opinion on a question of this nature is important.—But enough. Our object was simply to state the arguments, without pretending either to indorse or deny them.

Boyd left one son, Hugh Stuart Boyd, who also devoted himself to literary pursuits. He was the author of the following works, viz.:—1. *Select Passages from the Works of St. Chrysostom, St. Gregory Nazianzen, and St. Basil*, translated from the Greek, 8vo, 1806. This publication was noticed in the *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xxiv., pp. 58, 72. 2. *A Selection from the Poems and Writings of Gregory Nazianzen*, translated, 8vo, 1814. 3. *On Cosmogony*, published in the *Philos. Magazine*, 1817. 4. *Reflections on the Atoning Sacrifice of Jesus Christ*, 8vo, 1817. 5. *The Fathers not Papists, with Discourses and other Extracts from their Writings*, 8vo, 1834. Mr. Boyd died unmarried. Elizabeth Barrett Browning was much indebted to his kindness for her education. From him the poetess derived principally her knowledge of the Greek language. She has devoted three sonnets to the subjects of "*His Blindness*," "*His Death*, 1848," and "*Legacies*." The last is as follows:—

"Three gifts the dying left me, —Aeschylus,
And Gregory Nazianzen, and a clock,
Chiming the gradual hours out like a flock
Of stars whose motion is melodious.
The books were those I used to read from, thus
Assisting my dear teacher's soul t' unlock
The darkness of his eyes. Now, mine they mock,
Blinded in turn by tears! now, murmurous
Sad echoes of my young voice, years agone
Entoning from these leaves the Grecian phrase,
Return and choke my utterance. Books lie down
In silence on the shelf there, within gaze;
And thou, clock, striking the hour's pulses on,
Chime in the day which ends these parting days!"

In a note, Mrs. Browning says—"There comes a moment in life when even gratitude and affection turn to pain, as they do now with me. This excellent and learned man, enthusiastic for the good and the beautiful, and one of the most simple and upright of human beings, passed out of

his long darkness (he was blind) through death in the summer of 1848, Dr. Adam Clarke's daughter and biographer, Mrs. Smith, (happier in this than the absent) fulfilling a doubly filial duty as she sat by the death-bed of her father's friend and her own."

The old churchyard of *Layd*, near Cushindall, is still, and has been through many generations, the family burial-place of the MacAulays of Glenville, and of many others of the same name and race throughout the Glynns of Antrim.

(To be continued.)

EARLY IRISH CALIGRAPHY.

It is a remarkable fact, that the most important contribution ever made to the literature of the Irish language was the work of a man who never set foot on Irish soil. A foreigner, a German, every way alien to the genius and manners of the people of this country as they now are, found in Helvetia, and other parts of the Continent, monuments of the Irish as they were a thousand years ago, and with a magic hand, reconstructed their ancient language,—reviving lost usages, exposing corruptions of modern growth, and handing over to the chief surviving representative of this great Celtic family a *rationale* of their tongue as astonishing as it was unexpected. No Irishman, no matter how high his attainments or brilliant his talents, could ever have achieved this splendid result with mere native materials; for, strange to say, Ireland is barren in early monuments of her own language. If we except the *Book of Armagh*, we have no manuscript containing vernacular matter of a date anterior to A.D. 1100. The *Liber Hymnorum*, the *Leabhar na h-Uidhre*, the *Book of Leinster*, the *Speckled Book of MacEgan*, the *Books of Ballymote* and *Lecan*, (all existing in the libraries of Trinity College, Dublin, and the Royal Irish Academy,) are the chief and earliest repositories of our native literature. No doubt, they contain compositions which lay claim to great antiquity:—the Amhra of Columcille, the Hymn of Fiech, the Vision of Adamnan, and the Feilire of Ængus, profess to range from the sixth to the ninth centuries; and the best authorities pronounce them to be of considerable antiquity, even in their present form. But the philologist can detect in them either the modernizing hands of successive copyists, or the incurable corruption of ignorant transcribers. At home, *succession* proved almost fatal to the ancient language: abroad, it was otherwise; the matter once committed to writing was not reproduced, for the great performances of the Irish on the Continent were impulsive and intermittent; hence, there were no new versions of old compositions, and the chances were very great against the preservation of an Irish book. But when it did survive, it was read as long as the contemporary or succeeding generation could employ it; and then, when it became a dead letter, its beauty as a curiosity, or veneration for it as a relique, effected its safe transmission to future ages. With records of this class John Caspar Zeuss dealt; they were not numerous, but they

Marcus Ward & Co. Belfast.

FAC SIMILE OF ORNAMENTATION

from an ancient Irish manuscript in the Monastery of

St Gall, Switzerland

were of unquestionable antiquity, and exactly to the point; so that, for philological purposes, their parallelisms of Latin and Irish afforded a rich harvest of information.

Besides these productions of Irish scholars, there are others of Irish scribes scattered over the Continent, which, though devoid of vernacular matter, are yet of the highest interest as objects of literature and art. Of these, the larger portion is to be found in Switzerland, and especially in the library of the abbey of St. Gall. From its contents our great Franciscan collectors, Fleming and Colgan, drew largely in the seventeenth century; while the real development of its stores was reserved for another distinguished foreigner, the Rev. Doctor Ferdinand Keller, of Zurich, who, having brought his learning, judgment, and artistic skill to bear on the subject, placed before the literary world, in the *Mittheilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich*, (or, 'Communications of the Antiquarian Society of Zurich,') for the year 1851, an essay upon the Irish manuscripts preserved in Switzerland, accompanied by several plates of *fac-similes*, illustrative of early Irish writing and ornamentation. The title of the communication is *Bilder und Schriftzüge in den irischen Manuscripten der schweitzerischen Bibliotheken*, ('Illuminations and Fac-Similes from Irish Manuscripts in the Swiss Libraries.') Of this tract, the following is a translation. In the ten years which have elapsed since its compilation, genuine archæology has made great advances in Ireland; and there are a few statements which the learned author, were he re-writing the essay with improved subsidiary matter at hand, would be disposed to alter; but, as a whole, it is an exceedingly valuable contribution to one chapter of Irish history; and it is matter of regret that it has been allowed to remain so long inaccessible to the majority of archæological students. Dr. Keller's *fac-simile* of the ancient design for the monastery of St. Gall, of the year 820, which he published in Zurich, in 1844, was reproduced on a smaller scale, with the substance of his memoir, by the Rev. Robert Willis, in the *Archæological Journal* of 1840 (vol. v., pp. 85, 117); and to this transfer Dr. Keller makes favourable allusion in a recent contribution to the same periodical.

A further contribution to Irish literature was Dr. Keller's recovery, in 1845, of Dorbbene's autograph of Adamnan's Life of St. Columba, which he found in the bottom of a book-chest in the town library of Schaffhausen. It was his valuable service herein which led to the publication, by the Irish Archæological Society, of that important piece of early biography.

A comparison of the Irish manuscripts abroad with those at home, will show the same style prevailing in all,—a style so well marked that it can never be mistaken. During the last century, and even by some writers of the present day, this style has been designated *Anglo-Saxon*, and the accomplished Dr. Waagen has helped to perpetuate the misnomer. It is greatly to be regretted that his critical eye was not brought to bear upon our Books of Kells, Durrow, and Armagh, and that, instead, his judgment in this department was chiefly formed upon the model of St. Cuthbert's Gospels in the British Museum. That beautiful manuscript, a legacy of the Anglo-Saxon Church, and enriched with Anglo-Saxon matter, was very likely to mislead a stranger who was unacquainted with

its history, or to gratify a native who was inclined to magnify his country. But Dr. Keller had better discrimination. With a well practised eye, and the knowledge that St. Cuthbert's church of Lindisfarne was of Irish origin, he could account for the appearance of Irish art in the affiliated school; and instead of designating an original family by the name of an adopted child, he preferred, in truth and reason, to go back to the progenitor, and stamp, with the true name of Scotic, all the works which were either executed by himself or the children of his adoption; ignoring, as a non-existence, the so-called Anglo-Saxon school, and asserting the claim of Ireland to an early and glorious distinction, which was confessed by the father of English history, and never more significantly than in his narrative of a Saxon noble, who "Hiberniam gratiâ legendi adiit, et bene instructus patriam rediit."

W. Reeves.

ILLUMINATIONS AND FAC-SIMILES

FROM IRISH MANUSCRIPTS IN THE LIBRARIES OF SWITZERLAND,

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There is a subject which has hitherto received little attention, although, in a historical and artistic point of view, well deserving our notice, namely, a small collection of Irish manuscripts lying scattered through the Swiss libraries, some of them perfect, others only in fragments.

As the library of the monastery of St. Gall possesses most of these books, and has received them directly from the hands of Irish monks, perhaps even from those of the writers themselves, we think it proper, before entering into a detailed examination of the manuscripts, to institute a brief inquiry as to the date of their execution, and of their presentation to this monastery.

In the Catalogue of the library of the monks of St. Gall, compiled in the first half of the ninth century, the following books are recorded as being written in the Irish character. [Libri Scotticè scripti.[1]]:—

Metrum Juvenci, in vol. i.
Epistolæ Pauli, in vol. i.
Actus Apostolorum, in vol. i.
Epistolæ Canonicæ vii., in vol. i.
Tractatus Bedæ in proverbia Salomonis, in vol. i.
Ezechiel propheta, in vol. i.
Evangelium secundum Johannem, in vol. i.
Enchiridion Augustini, in vol. i.
Item Juvenci metrum, in vol. i.
Apocalypsis, in vol. i.
Item Apocalypsis, in vol. i.
Metrum Sedulii, in vol. i.
De Gradibus ecclesiasticis, in vol. i.

(1.) See Weidmann's *History of the Library of St. Gall.*—St Gall, 1841. The term "Scotus" for an Irishman comes from the name "Scotia" or "Scotia inferior," by which Ireland was designated in the Middle Ages.

Arithmetica Boetii, in vol. i.
Missalis, in vol. i.
Vita sci. Hilarii, in codicillo i.
Passio S. martyrum Marcellini et Petri.
Metrum Virgilii, in vol. i.
Eius glosa, in altero.
Quaternio I. de inventione corporis sci. Stephani.
Quaternio I. de relatione translationis sci. Galli in novam ecclesiam.
Bedæ de arte metrica, in quaternionibus.
Instructio ecclesiastici ordinis, in codicillo i.
Liber i. Genesis, quaternionibus.
Actus Apostolorum et Apocalypsis, in vol. i. veteri.
Quaternio I. in natali Innocentium legendus.
Orationes et sententiæ variæ, in vol. i.
Orationes, in quaternionibus.
Expositio in Cantica Canticorum, in quaternionibus.
Item Regum, quaternio i.
Item Evangelia II. secundum Johannem, Scotticè scripta.
Prosperi epigrammata, in voluminibus duobus, unum fuit Scotticum pusillum.

A question here arises, the answer to which is of no small interest as regards the history of scientific and artistic industry in the monastery of St. Gall, viz.: whether these books were written by Irishmen residing on the spot, and at what period? or whether we must consider all these MSS. (as was certainly the case with some of them) to have been gifts which monks, passing through the country, left behind them in the cell founded by their countryman? If St. Gall was the place where they were produced, the fact that these books were written, not in one, but in several different centuries, (the 7th to the 9th,) would seem to prove that a spiritual connection was maintained between the mother-convent in Ireland and its colony here, as can be shown to have existed between several of the so-called Scottish monasteries;[2] and that the early taste for literary and artistic performances, such as caligraphy, miniature-painting, carving, and music, received encouragement and assistance from those northern institutions which, in the 7th and 8th centuries, far excelled other European monasteries in learning and civilization, and exercised, both directly and indirectly, a healthy influence upon them.

Unfortunately, the oldest portion of the Register, drawn up by the monk Ratpert, gives us no information whatever regarding either the arrival of the monks who constituted the monastery in the first century of its existence, or their scientific capabilities. The writer only details the external affairs of the abbey, and dwells upon a description of the wrongs which its spiritual republic had to endure at the hands of the bishop of Constance, and of their long struggles before obtaining the right of freely choosing their own abbot. The first notice of literary and artistic industry which we meet with in the annals is in connexion with individuals whose names are of German origin. We find it remarked, for instance, that the abbot Waldo (elected in 782,) was a very distinguished caligrapher. We have direct evidence of literary zeal in the eighth century, in the works still extant written by learned monks, such as Winithar and Kero; also in the fact that Wolfram and Abo wrote

(2.) Moore's *History of Ireland*, ii. 135.

some manuscripts, and that more than twenty monks wrote different documents during this century.[3] In the ninth century, the notices relative to the state of learning among the monks of St. Gall become more precise and full. It was in the fourth decennium of that century, during the rule of the vigorous and wise abbot Gozbert, that the building of the new abbey took place, and that the institution attained extraordinary prosperity after acquiring its privileges. In the new edifice provision was made for a writing-room and a library; and St. Gall, which had previously been ill provided with books, obtained, in the course of twenty years, through the fostering care of this abbot, a library which procured for the monastery a high reputation.

Many evidences exist to prove that frequent visits were paid to the abbey of St. Gall by Irishmen.[4] The first hint we receive of the presence of Irish monks there, as writers, is from the title of one of the books mentioned above, written in Irish [Scotic] characters, but which, unfortunately, no longer exists, namely: *Quaternio* 1. *de relatione translationis Sci. Galli in novam ecclesiam.* Now, the removal of the remains of St. Gallus (here referred to) into the new and more splendid tomb took place in the year 835. The name of the author of this composition is unknown; and it is merely conjectured that it may be the work of Moengal, who did not enter the monastery till after that year. It is most natural to suppose that the writer was himself an eye-witness of the ceremony.

Although we seek in vain, among the oldest writings of the monastery, for any precise information as to the presence and the performances of Irish monks, we find one of these foreigners mentioned about the middle of the ninth century, with an explicit account of his abilities and merits. The first pages of the Register, as continued by Ekkehard, which are devoted to a description of the educational establishment of St. Gall, and of the performances and lives of those teachers who gained for themselves undying celebrity by disseminating learning abroad and civilizing their contemporaries, make mention of an Irish monk as one of the most remarkable contributors to the renown of the monastery at that epoch of its history. During the administration of abbot Grimald, about the middle of the ninth century, the Irish bishop[5] Marcus and his nephew, Moengal, (who afterwards obtained the name of Marcellus, or little Marcus,) when returning from Rome, to which they had made a pilgrimage, paid a visit to the monastery of St. Gall, which did not lie much out of their way, and was connected with them by its nationality. The monks, eager for learning, perceiving that Moengal was a man of rare erudition and superior cultivation, besought the travellers to take up their permanent abode at St. Gall. The request was complied with, and the uncle and

(3.) See Von Arx, *History of St. Gall;* and Weidmann, *History of the Library of St. Gall.*

(4.) "Scotigenæ pro se quo nidificant velut ipse (Gallus) Tanquam germani vivunt ibi compatrioti." Ekkehard, *Lib. Benedict*, lib. iv., p. 244.

(5.) See Pertz, *Monumenta Germanica*, ii., 78.—"There existed at this time a custom in Ireland of raising pious and exemplary monks to episcopal rank, without giving them any fixed sees — "episcopi vagantes,"—of whom numbers were found on the continent in the Middle Ages." Moore, ii., 137.—"In Hibernia episcopi et presbiteri unum sunt." Ekkehard, *Lib. Benedict.*

nephew, dismissing their retinues, spent the remainder of their days in the monastery. Of Marcus nothing farther is known than the date of his death, and that he bequeathed to the institution his money, clothes, and books. Moengal became the director of what was called the Inner School, and teacher of the boys who wore the cloister dress, and who were, for the most part, devoted from their childhood to the monastic life. He was equally versed, as Ekkehard tells us, in theology and polite literature; and he instructed his pupils Notker, Ratpert, and Tuotilo, in the seven liberal arts, as well as in music, of which he was particularly fond. Of his writings, none are now extant, with the exception of some documents which he drew up in the years 854, 856, 857, and 860. In the Obituary of St. Gall, we find his death noticed in the following terms:—"Departure of Moengal, called also Marcellus, the most learned and excellent man."

Although we are not particularly told what kind of music Moengal taught, (church psalmody had previously been introduced into St. Gall by a Roman ecclesiastic,[6]) yet from the praises bestowed on the talents of Tuotilo, one of his pupils, we may infer, with tolerable certainty, what the nature of his musical instruction was. Tuotilo was, it is said, unsurpassed in all kinds of stringed instruments and pipes [fistulæ], and gave lessons in playing on them to the sons of the nobility, in a room set apart for him by the abbot. Performance on stringed instruments, and especially on the harp, was, in fact, the very kind of music which, from the earliest times, was practised in Ireland, where, in Moengal's day, every freeman seems to have possessed a certain degree of skill in the art, as is proved by many statements in the Irish chronicles.[7]

The next notice we meet with of Irishmen, distinctly mentioned as such among the learned men of St. Gall, is in the second half of the tenth century. These are Failan and Clemens, both of whom held office as instructors before the professors Notker (Labeo), Rudpert, Anno, and Erimbert, who had all died of the plague on the same day, in the year 1022. Concerning their lives and character, their general capabilities, and the special departments in which they distinguished themselves, nothing whatever is known. Failan died in 991.

Besides those now mentioned, there must have been other individuals of Irish origin who gained lasting honour by promoting intellectual culture in St. Gall. This appears from some verses written by an Irishman named Dubwin, in which the monks of St. Gall are reproached with looking down with contempt on the men to whose ancestors the monastery owed its foundation, its renown, and its wealth. He mentions Dubslan, Faelan, and Dubduin as men who had deserved well of St. Gall. This Faelan is the professor already spoken of. Regarding Dubslan, we have no information. To Dubduin is ascribed the laying out of the gardens of the monastery.[8]

(6.) See Pertz, *Monumenta*, ii., 102.

(7.) Thus Beda relates of the Anglo-Saxon Caedmon, that this poet, who latterly composed and sung only spiritual songs, used to leave the table when the harp was sent round and his turn came to sing and play, in order not to have to take any part in secular music.

(8.) The lines, as printed in Von Arx's History of St. Gall, are as follows:—

No further mention of Irish monks occurs either in the annals of St. Gall or in any of the manuscripts of the abbey which now remain. But in the Obituary, we meet with names which undoubtedly belong to Ireland, such as Brendan, Adam, David, Melchomber, Fortegian, Eusebius, Chinchon, Hepidan, &c. All the knowledge we possess concerning the share which Ireland had in the intellectual advancement of the monastery is confined to the foregoing scanty notices.

In the year 883, the establishment of St. Gall entered into very intimate connexion with another monastery inhabited exclusively by Irish. There had stood on the Victorsberg [Victor's Mountain,] near Feldkirch, from the time when St. Victor suffered martyrdom on that spot, a monastery, which during the same century was occupied by Scots, and which was, no doubt, intended to serve as a hospice for Irishmen on their pilgrimage to Rome. Possession of this monastery had been granted by Charles le Gros to the monks of St. Gall, in the year above mentioned; and two years afterwards, the same Emperor made an arrangement that a hospice for twelve persons journeying to Rome should be maintained out of the revenues of the property bestowed by him on this institution. The union of the Scotic monastery with St. Gall took place at the request of the Irishman, Eusebius, who lived thirty years as a recluse on the Victorsberg.[9]

The monastery of Reichenau likewise numbered Irishmen amongst its members, as did also that of Rheinau, which is indebted to Findan, an Irishman, for its peculiar monastic rules. And, generally speaking, there is hardly one of the older Benedictine establishments, at least in central Europe, whose annals and necrologies do not make allusion to occasional visits of Irishmen.

While the Irish monasteries, especially in the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, were esteemed as the most excellent educational institutions for the clergy, and seats of the sciences and arts, and hence attracted from other countries persons desirous of learning, there arose, on the other hand, among Irish monks an almost fanatical zeal for visiting the continental monasteries and holy places, particularly Rome; for travelling as missionaries through those countries where the remains of paganism still lingered; or for spending their lives as anchorites in lonely regions. Not without reason does Walafrid Strabo observe,[10] that to the Scoti "travelling was become a second nature."

Hi sunt insignes sancti quos insula nostra
Nobiles indigenas nutrivit Hibernia claros,
Quorum grata fides, virtus, honor, inclita vita
Has aulas, summasque domos sacravit amœnas.
Semina qui vitæ Anglorum sparsere per agros,
Ex quis maturos convertis [—titis] in horrea fructus.
Nos igitur fratres, una de stirpe creati,
His sumus; imbecilles miseros quos mente superba
Despicitis, proceres mundique tumentia membra!
Cum Christi potius debetis [—eretis] membra videri,
Prudens hic pausat quin [utique] Gallus atque sepultus,
Ardens ignis Scotorum conscendit ad altos.
Dubslane meruit nomen, dignumque vocari.
Annue rex cœli me hic pro nomine Faelan
Dubduin hos ortos [hortos] fecit quicunque requiris,
Bessibus [versibus] labrisque canens, qui dixit amice.

(9.) See Neugart, N. DXXXIII. and DLIII. Pertz, *Monum.* ii., 73.

(10.) "Quibus consuetudo peregrinandi jam pœne in naturam conversa est." Walafrid in Vita St. Galli, lib. ii., c. 47.

The foundation of the abbey of St. Gall (anno 614,) occurred in the most flourishing period of the Irish monasteries, the time when the Irish mission was awaking into life. The journies of the island-monks were at first directed only to France, which, amid the continual struggles of its rulers, was then sunk in barbarism and ignorance. Their object was, through the preaching of the Gospel, to counteract the prevailing immorality, to efface the remains of heathenism which still existed here and there,[11] and to found educational institutions for clergy, who should be trained, according to the rigid discipline of the Irish Colleges, in a total abnegation of the world, and solely for the service of the Christian ministry.

The number of the Irish monks residing on the continent seems to have been greatest during the 11th and 12th centuries. The motives of the emigration at that period were partly the literary renown which various continental monasteries had acquired, and partly the unhappy condition of Ireland itself, where, in consequence of internal wars and the incursions of the Danes, the safety of the native monasteries was frequently endangered; moreover, the wish to establish hospitals and resting-stations for the Crusaders on their march through France and Germany. For this last-named object, communities of Scotic monks were formed in almost every large city in Southern Germany, and either new monasteries built for them, or old ones put in order.

We may insert here a few particulars regarding the external appearance of the Irish monks, which occur in the MSS. of the abbey of St. Gall, and which remind us of some of the peculiarities observable in the common people of Ireland at the present day. The Irish monks seldom travelled otherwise than in companies. They were provided, as the people now are, with long walking-sticks,[12] and also with leather wallets and flasks [ascopa, pera, capsella de corio].[13] They wore long flowing hair, and they coloured [tattooed][14] some parts of the body, especially the eye-lids. It is also stated that they used waxed writing-tables [pugillares].[15] They were expert in catching fish, like their successors; and, as appears from the biography of St. Gallus, betook themselves to this for their sustenance when necessity demanded.

Although the Irish monks considered that they possessed the right of entry in the monastery of St. Gall, it would seem, from the inference which may be drawn from the verses of Dubwin, mentioned above, that this right was never admitted.

After what has been said, if we now inquire, what advantages did Ireland gain in subsequent times from having founded that monastery? the answer will amount to this, that, although a regular connexion between that country and St. Gall cannot clearly be proved, yet never-

(11.) Gregory of Tours, viii., xiv.

(12.) The shorter staff which the bishops carried was called "cambatta." See Life of St. Gall.

(13.) Hattemer's *Denkmäler*, i., 237: "Ascopam, *i.e.*, flasconem similis utri de coriis facta, sicut solent Scottones habere." *Epistola Ermenrici*: "De pera Scottica jacula timent."

(14.) Hattemer, i. 227 and 237: "Stigmata, signa, pictura in corpore, quales Scoti pingunt in palpebris."

(15.) "Pugillares Scotorum." Von Arx, p. 29.

theless individuals from Ireland, led by chance, or being on a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Gallus, came to this establishment situated among the Alemannic Alps; and by the force of their religious tenets and monastic observances, (which in earlier times were peculiar to the Irish,) assisted in establishing the renown of St. Gallus's cell,—a renown which this house of God enjoyed to so great an extent in the first century of its existence; that likewise other learned Irishmen, by means of the books which they brought hither or transcribed on the spot, and still more by their instructions in Greek, Rhetoric, and other subjects, contributed not a little to the formation of the scientific character which distinguished this monastery among similar communities.

As for the artistic performances of the Irish, these are not mentioned specially by historians, either because they were thrown into the shade by the literary merits of this people, or because the Irish monasteries did not direct their efforts to acquiring distinction in that department. Music, however, was cultivated by them as an art intimately connected with public worship,[16] and they seem to have promoted the practice of it as much as possible in their colonies. Harpers are represented on the most ancient sculptured stone crosses of Ireland, and pipers are introduced as decorations of initial letters in MSS. of the 8th and 9th centuries. On the whole, the older historical works of the Irish furnish us with numerous proofs of the attention bestowed on music in that country at an earlier period. In caligraphy, a most important and highly esteemed art in the middle ages, they laboured, as we shall see, very early and with extraordinary success; and their productions in this department are even yet, in many respects, unsurpassed.[17] Westwood expresses the opinion, that the style of penmanship which the Irish missionaries introduced on the Continent was generally adopted there, and continued to prevail until the revival of art, in the 13th and 14th centuries. So far, at least, as concerns the monastery of St. Gall, this assertion seems well founded. If we inspect minutely the specimens of caligraphy of the Carlovingian period which are extant in that place, we can detect, in the forms of many of the letters, particularly of the uncials, an imitation of the Irish types, which lay before the writers in all their exquisite beauty. But a still greater influence was exercised by Irish manuscripts, perhaps also by the teachings of the Irish monks themselves, on the technicalities of this art, such as the manner of holding the pen, the preparation of the ink, and, indeed, the whole process of writing. At least, the principles which they followed seem to have prevailed during the ninth and tenth centuries. The stimulus to the caligraphic art thus received from foreigners so well skilled in it, will also explain the facts that a zeal for book-writing showed itself so early at St. Gall, and that even in the ninth, but more

(16.) William of Malmesbury, in his Life of St. Dunstan, who was educated by Irishmen, says: "Arithmeticam cum geometria et astronomia ac musica diligenter excoluit. Harum scientiarum Hibernienses pro magno pollicentur."

(17.) Regarding Sulgenus, who was bishop of Menevia [or St. Davids] in 1070, his own son writes as follows:—

"Exemplo patrum, commotus amore legendi,
Ivit ad Hibernos, Sophia, mirabile, claros;
Sed cum jam cimba voluisset adire revectus,
Famosam gentem *scripturis* atque magistris, &c."

especially in the tenth and eleventh centuries, such men appeared there as Sintram,[18] Folcart, as well as others throughout the entire German empire, whose exquisite performances were generally admired and sought after as models.

Many of the letters which they employed, however, especially those of the cursive hand-writing, and likewise their abbreviations and contractions, differed so essentially from those used in France, that, so far at least as regards the form of penmanship, their style of writing did not continue to be held in the estimation it deserved. Books written in the Irish character, becoming gradually inconvenient for ordinary reading, must have been removed, at all events, from the altars as unsuitable. Hence, the Irish Mass-books were re-written at a very early period; and their works on classical and dogmatical subjects came to be little used, and were marked in the catalogues as unserviceable [legi non potest, &c.].[19]

The strangeness of the Irish character, therefore, induced the Scoti who joined the monastery to adhere, as far as possible, to the usual forms of letters employed on the Continent, as is proved by the books written by Moengal, under the name of Marcellus.

That the Irish, at a very early period, even so soon as the fifth century, had made attempts in designing and colouring, is shown (among other notices in Irish works,) by a passage in the Trias [Thaumaturga], p. 523: "Ecclesia Kildariensis sæc. v. pictis tabulis et imaginibus depictis ornata." A further proof is afforded by the miniature paintings which occur so frequently in Irish MSS., especially the Gospels. But, being removed beyond the reach of the remains of ancient art, and outside the sphere of influence exercised by Byzantium on the æsthetic progress of the West, the Irish, as we shall see hereafter, continued stationary in their own peculiar and rude style, and never advanced even to mediocrity in artistic conception and representation. On the other hand, they must be regarded as the inventors of a style of decoration at once highly fantastic and extremely tasteful, the specimens of which, as far as artistic value is concerned, far excel mere paintings. This seldom appears in the manuscripts of profane writers, but is seen in full development in their Gospels, where the object of the artist was to inclose, in one luxuriant frame, the figures and the initial letters, and, as it were, glorify them.

As was to be expected, the figure-painting of the Irish found no encouragement in St. Gall; for, among the large number of miniature figures contained in the ancient manuscripts of the monastery, we do not meet with a single one which bears the character of Irish conception, or indicates its influence in any way.[20] Mere embellishment was more attended to and esteemed. Not only do we observe, here and there in the manuscript-ornaments of St. Gall, a tendency towards

(18.) "Omnis orbis Cisalpinus Sintrami digitos miratur. Scriptura, cui nulla, ut opinamur, par erit ultra." Ekkehard in Casibus S. Galli. Pertz. ii., 89.

(19.) Concerning Irish writing see *Traité de Diplomatique*, iii., 377.

(20.) That the influence of Anglo-Saxon (Irish) painting was considerable also in France during the 9th century is evident from Waagen's remarks on the miniatures executed in that country in the time of the first Carlovingian monarchs, and now preserved in the library at Paris.

the Irish style, but we can detect an imitation of it in other monasteries to which Irish manuscripts had found their way; and, indeed, almost everywhere upon the continent, various Irish designs in ornamentation were adopted and admired.

We are unable to determine with accuracy what progress in architecture had been made by the Irish monks; because, during the foreign invasions, and the long period of intestine struggles at home, their oldest buildings had mostly gone to ruin. But those which still exist, as, for example, the numerous round towers, erected, according to Petrie, in the Merovingian and Carlovingian periods, with their groups of churches [Seven Churches], the extensive ruins of the oldest abbeys, the subterrannean vaults dating from an unknown period, the royal tombs, such as those in the island of Iona, which, "bathed by the waves of the Atlantic, still continue to awaken the wonder and serious contemplation of the traveller," are sufficient evidences that in this country architecture had attained, at least in a technical point of view, to a high degree of cultivation; and that building in stone [21] (perhaps introduced there from the East) had been employed at a very early period for public purposes to an extent which it had by no means reached in those times throughout the northern part of the continent. Hence it is not improbable that Irish monks may have been actually employed in erecting the new buildings for the monastery of St. Gall, in the first half of the tenth century; a conjecture, however, which is not supported by any positive documentary evidence in the annals of the abbey.

Frequent mention is made in the oldest manuscripts of Ireland of the plastic art, of sculpture, and of casting,[22] as being practised by the ecclesiastics. Many passages prove that they were very skilful in the manufacture of church-furniture, and that they produced "campanas, cymbala, baculos, cruces, scrinia, capsas, pixides, calices, discos, altariola, chrismalia, librorum eöopertoria," which were adorned with gold, silver, and gems; likewise "regna, coronas, &c," of peculiar richness and value, for the decoration of churches, altars, and holy shrines. Prior to the irruption of the Northmen, almost every Irish church of any note was provided with a costly reliquary, and a 'cumhdach,' *i.e.* a case made of embossed bronze or silver, enclosing a beautifully written copy of the Gospels.

According to his view, the French pictures used in embellishing manuscripts at that period may be divided into two kinds, as regards colouring and style of treatment. In the one, the ancient principles are found still predominating. In the other, we can perceive a decided influence of barbaric Anglo-Saxon [Irish] art. In the colouring, a dazzling variety—transparent colouring, such as light yellow, violet, verdigris—hard sketching with the pen, and illumination merely with local colour—ornaments composed of fantastic animals—heads of birds, dogs, biting dragons, and interlaced bands. See Waagen's *Kunstwerke in Paris*, p. 244; some genuine Irish miniatures in one of the Gospels now in the Library at Paris, written before the year 730, are described in this work at p. 141.

(21.) Petrie *(Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy)* shows that, so early as the 5th and 6th century, lime mortar was used in buildings, having probably been introduced by Christian missionaries.

(22.) The artistic ability of a certain Conla, who lived in the 5th and 6th century, and was a distinguished 'aurifex' and 'ærarius,' had become proverbial. [*Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. 20, p. 200.]

With regard to the ornaments which embellish these different objects, a close inspection shows us that, with trifling exceptions,[23] they exhibit quite the spirit of the miniature style of decoration, and repeat the serpentine intertwinings, the spirals, the broken stripe-ornaments, and especially the strange extended monsters like dogs; more rarely human figures, and scenes from the Holy Scriptures.

Among the most remarkable sculptured monuments may be mentioned the numerous stone crosses which still exist, and whose decorations, cut in relief, are very characteristic of ancient Irish art.[24]

That Irishmen appeared at St. Gall as teachers of these arts may be conjectured, but cannot be proved.

IRISH MANUSCRIPTS.

After these introductory remarks, we will now proceed to a closer examination of the Irish writings, and of their caligraphic and pictorial embellishments, prefacing this with a few observations on the materials which were used for the purpose in Ireland.

And first, as regards the material employed by the Irish for their books. Their parchment, as compared with that made use of in France from the seventh till the tenth century, is, for the most part, much thicker. It is often finely polished, but more frequently is horny and dirty. On the whole, they do not appear to have attained much perfection in the preparation of the skins with which they were supplied by their goats, sheep, and calves. That they were not very lavish in the use of their parchment is shown by the number of perforated leaves that occur in their books.

In the more ancient Irish manuscripts, a kind of thick ink has been used, which is extremely remarkable for its blackness and durability. It often resists the action of chemical tests of iron, and seems not to have been made of the ingredients commonly used for the purpose. The red colour, which is so often met with, is mixed with a thick varnish, (or gummy substance,) which has preserved it not only from sinking in, but also from fading. Several colours, such as the yellow, for instance, are laid on transparent, and very thin and fluid; others have a thick body, consisting of a triturated earth, or some skilfully prepared material, and a strong binding medium. There is a passage in one of Beda's works, in which he speaks highly in praise of the beautiful colours prepared in Ireland, and especially of the brilliancy and permanence of the red.[25]

(23.) For instance, the reliquary called the *Domnach Airgid*, figured in the *Transact. of the R. I. Acad.* xviii. 1.

(24.) Crosses, for the most part made of granite, exist in Ireland, according to Westwood, to the number of some hundreds; in Iona, where there were still remaining 360 of them in the second half of the 18th century; likewise in Wales and Cornwall. They were ornamented with figures in *relievo*, representing bishops and other personages, as also with sentences from the Holy Scriptures; the whole being encompassed with a frame formed by interlacing lizards, serpents, and looped bands, quite in the style and spirit of Irish miniature decoration. That the Irish taste in art spread itself also over Britain at an earlier period, and was long adhered to by Anglo-Saxon artists, is quite undeniable.

(25.) "Sunt et cochleæ [*i.e.*, on the Irish coasts] satis superque abundantes, quibus tinctura coccinei coloris conficitur, cujus ruber pulcherrimus nullo unquam solis ardore, nulla valet pluviarum injuria pallescere, sed quo vetustior est, solet esse venustior."

The extraordinary neatness of the hand-writing, and its firm character, have led several English antiquaries to express opinions as to the writing-instruments which were used by the Irish monks. The notion that they employed extremely sharp metallic pens, is quite untenable; it is much more natural to suppose, on the contrary, that their writing implements were neither reeds nor skilfully formed tools, but the quills of swans, geese, crows, and other birds. Proof of this is furnished by several pictures in Irish books: as, for instance, in the representation of St. John in the *Book of Kells*, one of the oldest and most beautiful of the Irish MSS., where the Evangelist is delineated holding in his hand a pen, on which the feather can be clearly perceived.

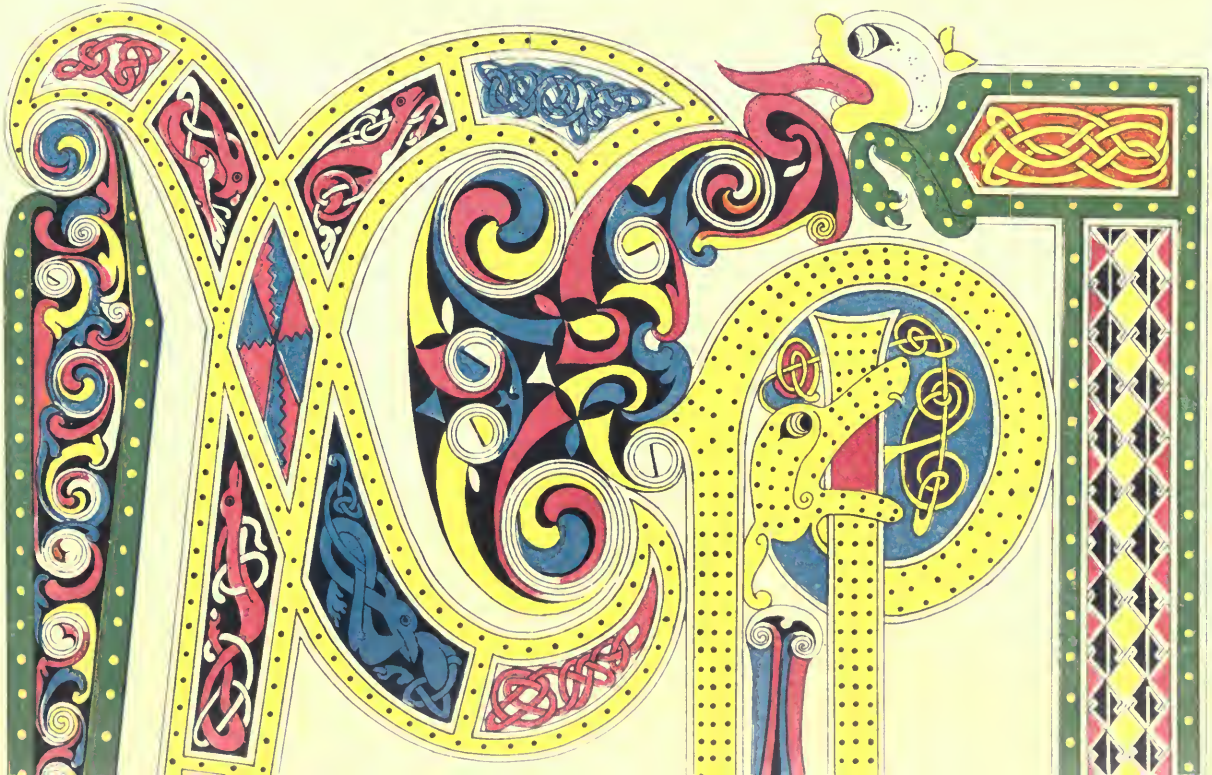
The ink-stand, which may be seen in many of the pictures, is remarkable for its great simplicity: being a slender conical cup, fastened either to the arm of the chair, or upon a small stick on the ground.

PENMANSHIP.

As has been already intimated, the character in which the earliest Irish MSS. are written (such as the Hymn of St. Patrick, the oldest specimen of the Irish language, and attributed to the fifth century,) is pretty nearly the same as that employed in Latin MSS. of the Romance countries, belonging to the fifth and sixth centuries. Westwood shows that the letters so long supposed to be peculiar to the Irish and Anglo-Saxons (round-hand as well as running-hand,) occur in almost exactly the same forms in the oldest Lombardic and Gallic manuscripts. The Irish hand-writing appears in two different forms, varying as regards their use, namely: the minuscule, or round-hand, and the more angular running-hand. The former exhibits several varieties. One of these, the form of round-hand which is seen in the *Gospels of Lindisfarne, St. Chad*, and those of *St. Columba*, in Dublin, as also in the *Missal of St. Columbanus*, at Milan, approaches the round uncial writing; while another small and delicate style of letter, such as appears in the *Leabhar Dimma*, the *Book of Armagh*, and the *Gospels of MacDurnan*, has more analogy to the running-hand.

The character of the uncial writing, from the roundness and graceful curve of the lines, acquires a softness very pleasing to the eye, as contrasted with the Frankish style, which presents more angularity, gradually passing into the stiffness and abruptness of what is called the Gothic style. Moreover, the symmetry of this kind of hand-writing is remarkable, as exhibited in the distance of the several letters from each other, and in their well proportioned height. The shading and tinting of the different letters is also managed with much skill and taste. The running-hand, for which a tolerably elastic pen was used, seems, notwithstanding its regularity, to have been written with freedom and ease. The large hooked rectangular broken letters [literæ quadratæ angulosæ] which are introduced for variety, occur only in the initial words of chapters, and seem in some respects peculiar to the Irish.

The Irish Runic or Ogham character, which is often met with on stone monuments, as in inscriptions upon tombs, and was sometimes also used in writing and counting, though chiefly as a cipher, consists of perpendicular and slanting strokes arranged on a horizontal line.



FAC SIMILE OF ILLUMINATION

from an ancient manuscript in the Monastery of

On the whole, it must be admitted that Irish caligraphy, in that stage of its development which produced the examples contained in the accompanying Plates, had attained a high degree of cultivation, which certainly did not result from the genius of single individuals, but from the emulation of numerous schools of writing, and the improvements of several generations. There is not a single letter in the entire alphabet which does not give evidence, both in its general form and its minuter parts, of the sound judgment and taste of the penman.

In the oldest manuscripts of the West which have come down to us, we already find the initial letter, or the first line of the work, and of each new chapter, written in a larger hand, and occasionally with some ornaments. In the sixth and seventh centuries, the distinction of the initial words becomes still greater, and they sometimes appeared in variegated colours. This art of caligraphic decoration was carried to its greatest extreme by the Irish scribes. In their manuscripts the initials often reach an enormous size; and the interlacings of bands, serpents, and lizards, which are quite peculiar to them, are exhibited with a fineness, sharpness, and elegance of execution, and a complication, which borders on the incredible.

In contrast to the style of the Continent, no Irish manuscripts are written on coloured parchment, nor with silver ink. Instead of this, the interior portions of the letters are variously coloured, as on the Continent, and the strokes are surrounded with red points or dots. Another peculiarity is that, as already remarked, the first words stand out in huge rectangular broken letters, which are frequently drawn into one another, and placed unconnectedly, so as to be hardly intelligible.[26] The letters at the end of the line, when space is wanting, are often joined together in the oddest manner.

ORTHOGRAPHY.

With respect to Orthography, the Irish books written in the Latin language present various peculiarities, as well as oversights and errors. The letters *o* and *u* are often confounded, as in *diabulus*, for *diabolus; f* put for *ph*, as in *farisæi, profeta; bt* instead of *pt*, as *babtizo, scribtura; v* for *b*, and the reverse, as *gravatum* for *grabatum; i* instead of *y*, as *Aegiptus*, and so on. Examples of faults in orthography are: *Cessar, tentatio, thensaures, torcetur*, (for *torquetur,*) *locitur*, (for *loquitur,*) *consulari*, (for *consolari,*) *delussus*, (for *delusus,*) &c. Prepositions and particles are almost always joined to the words to which they belong. Three dots (·.·) mark a period; two dots and a comma (..,) a semicolon; and one dot at half the height of the letters is a comma.

The following notices show how early the caligraphic art flourished in Ireland. Dagæus, abbot of Inniskeltra, who died in the year 587, (ten years before the death of Columba,) is mentioned as "scriptor librorum peritissimus." Ultan, who died in 655, was also renowned as a caligrapher,

(26.) See Plate 2 of Fac-Similes.

as we learn from a metrical epistle of Ethelwolf's to Egbert, who was staying in Ireland for the purpose of collecting manuscripts—

"Ex quibus est Ultan præclarus nomine dictus,
Comptis qui potuit notis ornare libellos."

Leland says still more distinctly of Ultan, that he was "scriptor et pictor librorum peritissimus."

Assicus, the first bishop of Elphin, was likewise distinguished as a clever illuminator of manuscripts: "Assicus sanctus episcopus, et Bite, filius Assici, fecerunt sacros codices quadrangulares."

We learn from Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, written about the end of the seventh century, that Anglo-Saxon monks also practised the art of illumination in the monastery of Iona: "Religiosus frater, Genereus nomine, Saxo pictor, opus pictorium exercebat in Iona conversatus insula."

ORNAMENTATION.

In the old Irish manuscripts, the arabesque leaf-bordering represents an arch supported by two pillars, (which we meet with also in the oldest MSS. of the West,) forming, as it were, a frame in which the figures of Scripture personages and others, or else the initial word of the text, are inclosed; a style of ornament which was retained in church paintings till the end of the sixteenth century, and even later. Sometimes these borders extend over only a part of the page, sometimes over the whole. In the former case, the border-ornament generally represents a gigantic animal, whose head is placed at the top, and its feet at the bottom, of the page; in the latter, the design is divided into several compartments, which are filled up with a multiplicity of fantastic forms. In some manuscripts the whole page is a mosaic of different little designs, displaying great artistic skill and immense industry.

The principles of Irish ornamentation consist:—

1. In a single band or a number of bands, interlaced diagonally and symmetrically, so as to form by their crossings a great variety of different patterns. In the language of ordinary life, such an ornament is called with us "Zweifelstricke," (literally 'doubtful bands').

2. In one or two extremely fine spiral lines, which wind round each other, and meet in the centre, while their ends run off again, and form new spirals.

3. In various representations of animals resembling birds, lizards, serpents, and dogs, which are often stretched out lengthwise in a disagreeable manner, and interlaced with each other, while their tails and tongues are drawn out into bands.

4. In a row of broken diagonal strokes, which form different systems of lattice-work, resembling some kinds of Chinese ornaments.

5. In panelling, generally composed of triangular compartments or other geometrical figures, which represents a kind of draught-board, or a mosaic of variegated stones.

All these ornaments are usually distributed in well-defined compartments. In the initial letters, especially the larger ones, the genius of Irish ornamental design is found in full development, and brought to a degree of beauty and precision of execution of which it is almost impossible to form an idea without having seen it. Here are displayed, in the greatest profusion and variety, the spirals, the complicated serpentine windings, and the panelling; in short, the designer has expended his whole skill and knowledge in producing these gigantic initials, whose height is often from 10 to 15 French inches! The most difficult task in these patterns is, without doubt, the spiral lines. These are real master-pieces, which furnish a splendid proof of the extraordinary firmness of hand possessed by the artist.

Every one of the larger initial letters is a rich and systematically planned composition, the closer examination of which becomes a kind of study in itself, if we would wish to follow the ideas of the designer, and account for the impression he aimed at producing on the observer.

In all these ornaments there breathes a peculiar spirit, which is foreign to the people of the West: there is in them a something mysterious which imparts to the eye a certain feeling of uneasiness and suspense. This is especially the case with those frightful-looking, monstrous figures of animals, whose limbs twist and twine themselves into a labyrinth of ornaments, where one can hardly resist the natural impulse to search for the other parts of their bodies, often nearly concealed, or passing into different strange creatures. The variety of these forms of ornament, with their luxuriant development, often extravagant, but sometimes uncommonly delicate and lovely, could not possibly have been the creation of a fancy, which derived its nourishment and its stimulus from natural objects so devoid of colour and form as present themselves in the North of Ireland, and in the rocky islands of the West of Scotland. They must have originated in the East, or at least have their prototypes there. That the Irish system of ornamentation does actually find an analogy in Eastern countries is proved by the illustrations published by C. Knight, in a small work on Egypt. We there find the serpentine bands of the Irish ornaments appearing already in the oldest Egyptian and Ethiopian manuscripts, and with a similarity of colour and combination truly astonishing.

Very remarkable also, as appears to us, is the resemblance of the Irish minute decorations to the ornaments on the shields of the broad girdle-clasps (fibulæ) found by the French and Swiss antiquaries in graves,—whether Christian or heathen, Celtic, Roman, or German, we will not here stop to discuss. On the iron articles of this description we observe the very same patterns executed in inlaid silver-plate or filigree, viz., intertwining of bands, trellis-work, and panelling; on the bronze ones there occur the heads and convolutions of serpents,—in short, the very same objects which characterize Irish decorative art.

The accuracy and extraordinary delicacy of drawing which appear in all these ornaments have given rise to the supposition that the artist-scribes might have employed stamps. But on a closer inspection, small defects and mistakes are discovered, which prove incontestably that these embel-

lishments were executed by the hand alone. Probably all patterns were first carefully traced out and arranged, and afterwards executed with an extremely sharp pen, which was at the same time very elastic, as is evident from the graceful swelling and thinning of the strokes. One circumstance still remains unexplained—that in many of the drawings the lines appear impressed in the parchment, so that they are visibly raised on the opposite side of the leaf. But perhaps a metallic pencil was used in sketching out the figures, in the same way as it was for ruling the sheets.

FIGURES.

So far as we know, it was Hickes[27] who first drew attention in England to Irish painting, by publishing a copy of a figure of St. Luke, which he had discovered in an ancient manuscript; not anticipating, indeed, that this kind of miniature-painting had originated among the Irish, and was peculiar to that people. Mone, however, clearly recognized the work of an Irish artist in the figure of the evangelist Matthew, which he remarked in a St. Gall manuscript, and of which he has given a close *fac-simile*. [*Anzeiger*, Jahrgang iii., p. 421.] "The manuscript from which the figure is taken belongs," he says, "to the eighth century, and represents a holy man engaged in writing, to whom an angel is bringing a writing tablet. On the back of the chair is fixed an ink-stand, into which he dips a metal or reed pen, while he holds another pen in his left hand. A bundle of pens is seen hanging by the side of the chair. Even at the first glance, the drawing appears striking and odd, especially the execution of the angel's wings. The figure has been drawn by an Irish monk, and I have published it in order to give a specimen of this kind of sketching, and to compare its character with that of the old Frankish. In the MS. illuminations with which I am acquainted, the Irish style of drawing possesses the following characteristics:—1. Sharp and distinct outlines; 2. The curved lines are firm and sure, and the artists have avoided all unpleasing interruptions of them; 3. With this firm drawing of the curved lines is connected the circumstance that the heads of human figures are represented as almost circular. This has arisen probably from the shape of the head and face in the Celtic race, so that we may venture to regard these circular faces as national portraits of the Celtic people; 4. The faces have the eyes widely opened, making nearly the whole eye-ball visible. These large eyes impart to the heads a frightful and ghostlike appearance; 5. The details of the small embellishments, birds, &c., are executed with even painful care, rendering the effect stiff and formal."

That profound connoisseur in ancient manuscript miniature-work, Dr. G. F. Waagen, during a residence in England, subjected Irish painting to a careful scrutiny and investigation, though he has considered it as the production of Anglo-Saxon art. Having before his eyes the so-called "Cuthbert-book," (an old Irish manuscript furnished with numerous miniatures, which is preserved in the British Museum,) he expresses himself as follows, regarding the peculiarities of the figures which it contains:—

(27.) Ling. Vet. Thesaurus, Præf., p. 8.

"The paintings in this Anglo-Saxon MS. have a most barbarous appearance, but, of their kind, are executed with the greatest technical skill. Of the Byzantine models, there only remain the conceptions, the kind of costumes, and the forms of the chair. Instead of the broad, but antique, style of treatment in water-colours with the brush, by which shadows, lights, and half-tints are produced, here all the outlines are very neatly done with the pen, and the actual local colours merely touched in, so that all appearance of shadow is wanting, except in the eye-sockets and along the nose. The faces are perfectly lifeless, and treated merely as patterns in caligraphy. The folds of the drapery are represented in colours entirely different from that of the drapery itself: thus, in the green mantle of St. Matthew, they are vermillion; and it is only in the general design of the dress that there is any meaning, for in minor details, the lines are inserted quite arbitrarily and mechanically. Where caligraphic dexterity is insufficient, as in the borders embellished with a kind of looped band-work, and in the initial letters, fineness and steadiness of drawing have been carried to an incredible perfection; and the devices of intertwined ornaments, having often dragons' heads interspersed, are not only ingenious but extremely elegant. Moreover, the clear transparent colours of the band-work,—light yellow, rose-colour, violet, blue, and green—produce a most pleasing effect on the black ground: indeed, these decorations, for neatness, precision, and fineness of execution, surpass every specimen I have seen of such ancient remains of art among the continental nations. Among these colours, which are often very thickly laid on, only the red and blue are, properly speaking, opaque. But all the colours are as fresh as if the painting had been done yesterday. Gold is only used in very small particles. Such a high cultivation of the purely technical part, at so early a period, with the total absence of all knowledge of the figurative part which forms the true and the higher element of art, is certainly peculiar and remarkable. This MS. furnishes a proof with what care painting was practised (after their own fashion) by these English monks who distinguished themselves, by their learning and their zeal, in the spread of Christianity in the seventh and eighth centuries."

What is here said applies not merely to the figured illustrations in the manuscript alluded to, but to those of Irish manuscripts generally. As regards the representation of the human figure, it strikes the observer at the first glance that the designer of these drawings aimed chiefly at symmetry, which is manifest not only in the flow of the drapery, but in the disposition of the hair, the feet, hands, and other parts of the body. In most cases, the left side of the figure corresponds exactly with the right; and in consequence of this, the picture has very much the appearance of carved work unskilfully executed, such as is frequently to be seen on wainscoting and furniture of the middle ages. In order to attain this architectural uniformity, the figures, therefore, are nearly all given in front view. They are human forms, but stiff and lifeless; and as the painter did not aim at truth and correctness, still less at elegance of delineation, the proportions of all the parts of the body are quite neglected. Sometimes the head is immoderately large in proportion to the body;

sometimes the feet and hands much too small, and the legs too short. The latter, as well as the arms, are indeed mostly covered by the drapery, but their existence is not indicated by any disturbance of the folds; and wherever they do appear visible, they are badly drawn and deformed. The hands, with their long fingers extended parallel to each other, are devoid of all articulation, and are merely treated as portions of an ornamental design: they are often so incorrectly drawn that the inside seems turned outwards. The toes of the two feet have frequently their extremities turned in the same direction, and, by the manner in which they are drawn, show that the painter was totally ignorant of the art of fore-shortening. The face, usually round, is quite devoid of expression. The eyes are almost always too large, and the nostrils are drawn as if seen from below. The mouth and ears have no character, and are merely like ornaments. The hair of the head is long, and flows down over the shoulders, usually divided into snake-like ringlets, and the beard is often treated in a similar style.

As regards the dress, no special or peculiar costume, such as the Anglo-Saxon, is recognisable in these pictures. All the figures wear an under-dress (tunic), and a mantle of some very thick stuff, which hangs down over the person in large wrinkled folds, while in the under garment, the patterns are either not given at all, or only on the border. In some pictures one might be led to believe that the dress consists of an under-garment and a frock, approximating to the costume of a priest. As coverings for the feet, we find shoes, and occasionally sandals. The stripes which run alongside of the heavy black lines that indicate the folds are very singular, as also the manner in which they are ornamented with rows of dots and floriations. One exception to the dress here described is met with in that of Christ on the cross. In all the pictures he appears wrapped after the manner of a mummy, in long stripes of cloth, out of which project the naked arms and legs. Christ and the apostles, and sometimes also the angels, are furnished with a *nimbus*. The heads are almost always bare: in some pictures, however, may be observed a strange-looking, turban-like cap, tapering upwards to a point. The arm-chairs (sometimes plain, sometimes decorated with lions'-heads) on which the figures are seated in a very stiff posture, are quite similar to those which are to be seen in other miniature paintings of the period.

Of perspective and fore-shortening, as we have already said, there is no trace to be found in these pictures. This is shown by the drawing of the chairs just mentioned; and is still more strikingly evinced by the wings of the angel, who is represented in side view.

The drawing in these pictures is always executed in sharp outline, and with black ink; no shading or rounding off by strokes of the pencil or brush are any where apparent; and the whole picture is flat, not the smallest attempt at distinguishing light and shade being perceptible. The colouring in these pictures is still less to be admired than the drawing. The figure appears divided, as it were, into a great many fields, by sharply defined limits; and the painter has taken occasion to

display his stock of colours, quite regardless of their proper application to the different parts. His sole object has been to give to the picture a brilliant and porcelain-like effect, and to delight the eye with a variegated play of bright, dazzling colours, by the exhibition, as it were, of numerous little mirrors. Thus, in the same figure, not merely the several portions of the dress, but even the different parts of the body, are painted with different tints; for example, the hair and legs blue, and the arms reddish-brown. This harlequin appearance is rendered still more striking by introducing whole rows of regularly arranged dots—white, red, or blue—upon the flat surface, such as the nimbus, portions of the dress, and elsewhere.

Not less remarkable than the representation of the human form are the pictures of animals mentioned in the Bible. These differ totally, in their conception, from the representations which are met with in Carlovingian manuscripts of the same period; and, like the Irish ornaments, are executed with the greatest care, and with astonishing fineness of outline.

Low as the grade of art is which these (we might almost call them childish) productions present to our eyes, wherein not a trace of the conceptions and technical science of the ancients can be discovered, still they possess a high interest, inasmuch as they suggest the inquiry where and in what period we are to seek for the origin of this singular style of painting? If we contemplate the limited range of this Irish pictorial art, in its delineation either of actual existences or of fantastic creatures, such as we find it in the numerous manuscripts recently discovered, it cannot be denied that a certain peculiar style is manifest, which maintained itself for several centuries without change, and which came to be a fixed criterion from which no artist ventured to deviate; and, moreover, (and this is especially worthy of notice) that its earliest productions are unquestionably the most perfect, whereas the latest specimens indicate the decline of the art. Hence we are obliged to assume that there had been a previous period of development of this style, which we find in Irish manuscripts to have reached its acme of perfection, and which presents no appearance of transition. If, as O'Donovan has shown, the execution of the Book of Kells, the Irish manuscript which is most distinguished for its writing and illumination, is to be referred to the sixth century, then certainly, in our opinion, the time which elapsed between the introduction of Christianity into Ireland and the appearance of Irish art is much too short to permit our assuming that this art had formed itself into such an established type during the interval. Moreover, its spirit seems altogether foreign to northern Europe. We are therefore compelled, in seeking for its original birth-place, to turn our eyes in another direction, namely, towards the East, and to keep in view the old connexion between Ireland and Egypt. If it be a fact that the text of all those religious works, in which artistic embellishment is brought to perfection, points to Alexandria as its source, we must necessarily seek there for its prototypes. Undoubtedly, the similarity in the delineation of figures, and especially of Scriptural animals, to the Egyptian fresco-paintings is very striking. The swathed, mummy-like figures of Christ; the treatment of the eyes, hands, and feet, the manner of delineating

the wings, but above all, the representations of eagles, lions, and oxen, breathe so completely an Egyptian spirit, that we have every right to regard Egypt as the cradle of Irish art. This affinity exhibits itself no less clearly in the style of colouring. In Egypt we meet again with the unshaded surfaces filled up with dots, the divisions like mosaic-works, and the showy variety of colours; the entire absence of middle-tints and rounding off of forms: in short, the constant endeavour to produce a surprising effect, without regard to correctness.

Just as early Christian art in Italy could elaborate nothing out of its own resources, but, from the commencement, formed itself after the spirit and model of classic art, so it was natural that the Alexandrian Christians could not divest themselves of the influence of Egyptian art. Indeed, it is probable that artists who worked after the Egyptian taste were employed in embellishing Christian manuscripts. Productions of theirs, which found their way to Irish monasteries either through missionaries or through the intercourse between western and Egyptian monks, were, no doubt, imitated there. These gave the first impulse to that art which prevailed in Ireland for a couple of centuries without either rising or falling, and which, in its turn, (as Westwood and Waagen have shown,) exerted a marked influence on artistic development on the Continent.

It is matter of history that, even after the destruction of the libraries in the reign of the Emperor Theodosius, Alexandria continued to be a seat of learning and education; and that this city possessed schools which were resorted to by physicians and philosophers from the West. There was also there a fraternity of persons who were styled *Caligraphers*, because they transcribed books (no doubt both sacred and profane) in beautiful characters.

According as science and art declined continually more and more at Alexandria, the Greeks relinquished gradually the practice of caligraphy to the natives or Copts, as indeed they did generally that of all kinds of industry and handicraft.

Direct evidence of the sojourn of Egyptian monks in Ireland is afforded by the ancient book called *Leabhar Breac*, written in the Irish language, and of which a Latin translation has been published. It is preserved in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, and enumerates a great many ecclesiastics who had immigrated from foreign countries to Ireland, and who were buried there. Among these we find "Septem monachos Ægyptios qui jacent in Disert-Ulidh." The connection of Ireland with Egypt is further proved by the fact that the original arrangement of the Irish monasteries was framed precisely after the model of the Egyptian ones; and that in the early ages of Christianity, even the eastern custom of dwelling in caves was imitated by numerous ascetics in Ireland.

(To be continued.)

ANTIQUARIAN NOTES AND QUERIES.

The following instructions have been issued from the Home Office, to the local authorities throughout England and Wales:—

"WHITEHALL, Aug. 27, 1860.

"SIR,

I am authorized by Secretary Sir George Lewis, to inform you that the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury have been pleased to authorize the payment, to finders of ancient coins, gold and silver ornaments, and other relics of antiquity in England and Wales, of the actual value of the articles, on the same being delivered up for behoof of the Crown; and I am to request that you will instruct the police officers of your county to give notice of the instructions of her Majesty's Government, and to inform all persons who shall hereafter make discoveries of any such articles, that on their delivering them to the sheriff, they will receive from the Treasury rewards equal in amount to the full intrinsic value of the articles. In all cases where it shall come to the knowledge of the police that such articles have been found, and that the persons having found them refuse or neglect to deliver them up, Sir George Lewis desires that measures may be taken for their recovery, and that information may be forwarded to him.

"I am, Sir, &c.,

G. CLIVE."

LADY-LIKE ORTHOGRAPHY IN THE OLDEN TIME.—Whilst going round the monuments in Westminster Abbey, I cast my eye on that erected to the memory of the great statesman, Sydney, Earl of Godolphin, by his daughter-in-law, the wife of the succeeding Earl: and was amazed at the quantity of bad spelling in the inscription. The following is a literal transcript, with all the peculiarities of orthography, punctuation, capital letters, &c.:—

SIDNEYE, *Earl of* GODOLPHIN *Lord*
High Treasurer of Great BRITTAN
and Chief Minister Dureing
the first Nine Glorious years
of the Reign of Queen ANN.
he Dyed in the year 1712
the 15 *day of Sept. Aged* 67.
and was Burried near this
Place to whose Memmory this
is offerd with the utmost
Gratitude affection and Honour
by his much obliged Daughter
in Law
HENRIETTA GODOLPHIN.

As this inscription is manifestly of her ladyship's own composition, it gives us some idea of the sort of education that was thought good enough for a Countess, 150 years ago. ERIGENA.

MACGILLICUDDY'S REEKS.—Some suppose that these hills in Kerry convey some allusion to smoke [reek], and perhaps to a volcano. But there is merely a homely similitude and a provincial pronunciation; the hills being like hay ricks, *Hibernice* 'reeks.' In like manner, 'drip

becomes *dreep*, as in Scotland, 'brick,' *breek;* 'strike' or 'strick' (of flax), *streek*, &c. Yet *reek* is as near to the original as *rick*, for the root is the Saxon *hreac* or *hrig*, showing an interchange both of vowels and consonants. A. H.

Beggars' Badges.—Before the introduction of the Poor Law system, the professional beggar was a well-known character; and though the race is almost extinct, the members of the present generation remember them well. They were newsmongers, fortune-tellers, watch-makers, thieves, and idlers, and occasional postmen. Scenes quite in character with Burns's *Jolly Beggars* were of occasional occurrence; and it is said that in the "six-shilling summer," while celebrating their orgies at a public-house in the County of Down, the toast was, "that the male and prittis may nivver be chaper." They were not assisted in the inverse ratio to the price, so that in cheap seasons the sale of their supplies burthened them, and produced a small return in cash. About 1542, the evil was of enormous magnitude, and an Act was then passed, authorizing the justices to issue 'seals' to poor and weak persons. Thus the 'badge' originated; able-bodied poor being excluded from its use. Any one begging without this was to be stripped to the waist and scourged, or else kept in the stocks for three days and three nights on bread and water. If a very strong person, he was to be "tied to the end of a cart and whipped through the town, till his body be bloody." Fortune-tellers were also to be dealt with rather hardly: the pillory and loss of ears awaited them. An exception was made, which shows that Carleton's *Poor Scholar* is the successor of a historic class; for scholars of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge were permitted to beg, if furnished with the seal of the university by the Commissary, Chancellor, or Vice-Chancellor. The university of Dublin was not then founded; so that education, which was valued highly, was obtained by great sacrifices. Without this authority, they were to be treated as sturdy beggars, nor to be allowed any 'benefit of the clergy.' The same penalties were incurred by "all singular shipmen pretending losses of their ships and goods of the sea, going about the country begging."

I remember to have seen ancient beggars show their badges, so that the custom survived for nearly three centuries. Does any collector among your readers possess one, or can he describe it and its mode of issue? The subject is interesting in connexion with a phase of society which has already passed away, and will soon be forgotten. A. H.

Thinking that the following extracts from Cory's *Fragments* (p. 210) may interest such of your readers as are curious on the subject of the migration of the Milesians before their final settlement in Ireland, I transcribe them from that work. They are taken from Sallust's *Bell. Jugurth.*, but came originally from the Punic books of King Hiempsal:—

"But when Hercules" [probably some Heraclipolitan king of Egypt—for Hercules, the Greek demi-god and hero, lived and fathered both royal families and nations after his visit to Spain, according to the best authorities] "perished in Spain," [or more likely ran away, as Napoleon the Great did from Egypt,] "his army, composed of various nations . . . . . was quickly dis-

persed. From its ranks the Medes, Persians, and Armenians, having passed over by shipping into Africa, occupied the parts bordering on our sea"[*i.e.* the Carthaginian]. "The Persians settled towards the Atlantic Ocean, and formed cottages of the inverted hulls of their vessels. . . . . Within a short time, by marriages, they blended themselves with the Gætulians; and, because they frequently changed their situations, . . . they assumed the name of Numidians. And, to this day, the buildings of the wild Numidians, . . . called *mapilia*, are of an oblong form, with roofs incurvated on the sides like the hulls of ships. . . . The Gætulians were more towards the sun" [the South]. . . . "Their name was presently corrupted by the Libyans, who . . . called themselves Mauri" [Moors].

Is it not possible that some of the facts here mentioned may either corroborate or refute the assertion of Dr. Keating, that the Milesians were at one time Gætulians? O'F.

The theory brought forward by Mr. Clibborn [vol. viii., pp. 36, 88] in his article on Irish Gold Antiquities, that these ornaments are traceable to a Hebrew original, is certainly a new one; and, though only suggested as a conjecture, the coincidences on which it is founded are too remarkable not to merit further investigation. In one instance, however (p. 45), he has fallen into an incidental mistake, which it may be well to correct. Speaking of a colony of Jews in the mountain district of Africa which lies north of the Gold Coast, Mr. Clibborn says that they assert "themselves to be the uncorrupted *Sephardim* or *Scribes*." Whether the Sepharad of the Old Testament be really Spain, may be questioned; but the modern Jews invariably *call* Spain by this name, and the Spaniards *Sephardim*. Mr. Clibborn has hastily mistaken "*Sephardim*" (Spaniards or Spanish Jews) for "*Sopherim*" (Scribes). Mac. N.

I was much pleased with the perusal of Mr. Hill's interesting "Gleanings in Family History from the Antrim Coast" [vol. viii. p. 127], and hope he may extend his researches to other portions of our local history, for which ample materials exist. Mr. Hill apparently inclines to regard the Mac Naghten family as of Pictish origin; but though, from the occurrence of the name Neachtan amongst Pictish monarchs, this inference may seem plausible; yet, unless the Picts and Gael were more than cognate tribes, it can hardly be correct, since the same name occurs among the companions of Milesius; and, even at the present day, among the Scottish Highlanders, the MacNeachtain tribe are still reckoned as belonging to what are called, by way of distinction, the "*original* clans"—that is, the first Scotic colony under Carbery Reuda and his successors. The list of kings in the Pictish Chronicle can hardly, I suspect, be depended upon, as it is a matter of grave doubt whether the Picts ever had any written monuments; and, so far as their language may be conjectured from local designations, they appear to have been a Cymric race, cognate, if not identical, with the people of Wales. At all events, it is remarkable that, in those districts of modern Scotland which are certainly known to have been inhabited by the Picts, the ancient names of places, when not Gaelic, are invariably referable to the Welsh dialect. The so-called lists

of Pictish monarchs which have been published by Pinkerton and others, are so different from each other, and contain withal so many Scotic names intermixed, in addition to those which can hardly be the names of real personages, as to excite a reasonable suspicion that fancy has been at work in the compilation of these royal catalogues. It is probable that, with the account of the Picts contained in the Appendix to the Irish Nennius, genuine traditions have been incorporated, however fabulous many of the details may be; while the alleged emigration of that people from Thrace, though startling at first, is confirmatory of their Cymric descent, assuming the alleged fact to be historical.

MAC N.

Mr. CLIBBORN, in his curious paper on Irish Gold Antiquities [*ante*, p. 39] mentions the circumstance that bangles or bracelets of *iron* were used in Hungary, corresponding in shape to one form of the Irish gold bangle. The following recent notice of the death of a Hungarian lady seems to corroborate the statement. "On the 29th of June, 1860, Madame Emilie Zsulavsrky Kossuth, sister of Louis Kossuth, died at Brooklyn, New York, aged 43 years. She was a member of the Second Unitarian Congregation of that place; and the funeral services, which were very numerously attended, were conducted by three ministers. On the wrist of the deceased, in accordance with her own dying request, was a bracelet worn by her until her last illness, made from the *iron chain* with which her brother had been bound in an Austrian prison." SENEX.

In Thompson's *Natural History of Ireland* (vol. i. p. 379) it is stated that, "in the North of Ireland generally, the destruction of any of the swallow tribe is considered an act of wanton cruelty." If I do not mistake, the very reverse prevails in the South; and it is considered meritorious to destroy them. It is popularly said that every swallow has 'three drops of the devil's blood in it.' This presents a curious coincidence with the Greek fable of the crime and metamorphosis of Procne. TEREUS.

In Vallancey's *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis*, No. 10, there is a speculation about what is conjectured to be a temple, made in the form of a ship, by supposed Phœnician mariners. The same structure is described also in Wright's *Louthiana*. About twenty years ago, I was induced to visit this relic, in company with that most entertaining writer and companion, the late Rev. Cæsar Otway. We knew that it lay somewhere three or four miles north-west of Dundalk; but it was not easy to find it out, as the country-people did not know it by any name or description that we could supply. My companion read out from Wright's book an Irish name, which he pronounced, however, in so un-Irish a style that the man we were questioning was completely at fault. At last, catching the sound of the first syllable, he exclaimed, "O! is it *Fas-na-hanniky?*" This signifies, it appears, "the growth of one night," and takes its origin from a legend that the structure was built in that space of time by the attendants of some fugitive princess in ancient times. The clue once found, our informant quickly led us to the spot. The remains occupy the summit level of a small rocky hill, in the middle of a little basin-shaped valley with a marshy bottom. On the sides of the slopes

encompassing this, are two or three terraces running all round, at successive levels. These, to my eye, marked the banks of a little lake which seems to have filled the bottom, and to have been drained off by degrees, so as to have remained at different elevations during successive periods. The building itself consisted of dry limestone walls, of small height, carried round the scarped edges of the rock which forms the little hill; and whose natural oblong outline determined the shape of the structure, which appeared to the theorizing antiquary to be that of a ship. At the foot of the hill was a lime-kiln, in which the occupying tenant was gradually burning to lime the stones of this ancient inclosure. I understand that the landlord of the place was the late Dr. Coulter, the famous naturalist of Mexico; and that he, on being apprized of this destruction, interposed his authority to protect what remained of the ruined walls. How far he was successful, or how much is now preserved, I do not know. But it was obvious to my eyes that the whole thing was nothing more than a rude fortress erected on a rock which happened to stand in the centre of a little lake. The water may either have been there originally, or have been raised to its highest level by damming up the present outlet. That it was ever a temple, or was purposely formed to imitate a ship, is as gratuitous a supposition as many others of Vallancey's imaginings. The site is marked on the Ordnance Survey of Louth, sheet 3, as "ruins of tower." HANNO.

I wonder if any Scottish botanist can pronounce what plant was meant in the *Lady of the Lake*,

> "Where Ellen's hand had taught to twine
> The ivy and *Idæan vine*."

The *Vaccinium vitis Idæa* is "a low, straggling shrub," growing on bogs, and not fit, I should imagine, to be trained on the porch of a dwelling. Could the great bard have been thinking of the "Canadian creeper," which is botanically allied to both the ivy and the vine?

A curious instance of how associations may unconsciously recommend absurdities occurs in Tate and Brady's version of *Psalm* 137:—

> "On willow-trees that wither'd there."

Why should willows wither beside "the waters of Babel?" It was plainly the *melancholy* idea of withering that passed off the nonsense.

In something of the same way, the name of Elijah suggested that of Carmel to the author of the *Pleasures of Hope*:—

> "Thus, when Elijah's burning wheels prepare
> From Carmel's height to sweep the fields of air."

Elijah ascended from the banks of Jordan.

ZOILUS.

Henry V., Act 3, Sc. 5:—

> ——"Can sodden water
> A drench for sur-rein'd jades, their barley broth,
> Decoct their cold blood to such valiant heat?"

Johnson observes on this:—"The exact meaning of 'sur-rein'd' I do not know. It is common to give horses, over-ridden or feverish, ground malt mixed, which is called a *mash*." And Malone says:—"I suppose 'sur-rein'd' means over-ridden; horses on whom the rein has remained too long."—Has this word anything to do with the French "suranné," superannuated, worn out with age? This would agree better with "cold blood" than "feverish."

SENESCENS.

A letter has appeared in this *Journal* [vol. viii. p. 145] from J. Barnard Davis, Esq., one of the editors of the *Crania Britannica*, requesting

information respecting all the old skulls which can be collected, as tending to throw light on the Ethnology of the British Isles. This is an inquiry which may be prosecuted as a matter of curiosity, but its conclusions must be received with caution, so far as European races are concerned. The form of the skull differs widely even amongst individuals of one and the same acknowledged race; and then—it is not sufficient to dig up a quantity of buried *crania*, and assume that they must be Celtic merely because they have been found in Ireland, unless the fact shall have been ascertained, from some historic or other reliable source, that the individuals buried were actually Celts; since they may have been a band of invaders from the farthest ends of the earth, for whom destiny had only provided graves in Ireland! We ought not to discourage this class of investigations—quite the contrary—but we ought to fix antiquarian attention upon their fundamental uncertainties, and to guard beforehand against the erroneous conclusions which may otherwise be drawn; these conclusions being all the more detrimental from their assumed foundation in physiological science. MAC N.

ANSWERS TO QUERIES.

BULL-BAITING IN IRELAND [Queries, vol. viii., p. 152].—In reply to your correspondent X.X., who asks whether bull-baiting was ever a public amusement in Ireland, I beg to send him the following extract from the *Dublin Chronicle* newspaper, of the 27th November, 1792:—"For several Sundays past, a numerous and terrible mob from Dublin assembled at Irishtown [in the parish of Donnybrook] to bait bulls. Last Sunday was eight days, a quarrel arose, when several of them were severely mangled and abused. They had prepared to assemble there last Sunday for the same purpose, which the Lord Mayor being apprized of, sent the High Constable with an officer's guard to prevent them. This sent them off to the neighbourhood of Sandymount, and afforded an opportunity to the gentlemen of the Sandymount Association to exert themselves in support of peace and good order, had they known their intention of coming there." ABHBA.

BULL-BAITING.—This seems to have been at one time a customary amusement in various towns in Ireland. There is a street both in Drogheda and Navan called the 'Bull Ring' to this day, and there may be the same in other towns that I am not aware of. McSkimmin, in his *History of Carrickfergus*, says that it was customary, after swearing the Mayor elect into office, to fasten a bull to a ring in the market-place, and bait him with dogs. He adds, that bull-baiting was only discontinued there about two years before he published his work (1810). I recollect about 35 years ago, when I was at school in the

Belfast Academical Institution, that on one occasion a great number of the boys absented themselves for the purpose of seeing a bull-bait somewhere in the neighbourhood of this town. I believe there is a place called the 'Bull Ring' in many towns in England—among the rest, in Birmingham; and it would seem that the custom was not an Irish but an English one, introduced by the settlers in the large towns. SENEX.

Referring to a query by 'B,' [vol. viii., p. 152] I beg to inform him that one of the townlands in Connemara (Barony of Ballinahinch) is still called in Irish Ballyconrie, *Baile Conrigh*, though given on the maps by the English name, 'Kingstown.' I am not aware whether the promontory of *Kinvarra*, which 'B' mentions, is near this place; but if so, these two local names would seem to identify the historic spot which he seeks for. OLLAMH FODHLA.

AUBURN-TREE [Notes and Queries, vol. viii., p. 152].—REGINALD informs us that "the *auburn*-tree is the *alburnum* or white hazel; in French, *aubours;* and in Italian, *avornio*." May I be permitted to ask him what is the 'white hazel,' and what tree was ever called *alburnum?* Three old French dictionaries on my shelves do not give the word *aubours* at all. Catineau's gives it, but merely interprets it by 'arbre.' Antonelli, *Dict. Fr. Ital.* has "*Aubier* ou *Aubours*, arbrisseau, dont les rameaux ressemblent à ceux du sureau, [Lat. *opulus*,] Oppio." Yet, in his Italian-French part, he explains '*Oppio*' [Lat. *populus*] by 'peuplier;' a pretty fair instance of botanical ignorance in a learned lexicographer! Danet translates *Aubier*, 'Sambucus aquatica.' The *Viburnum Opulus* is popularly called in England 'Marsh Elder.' As for *Avornio*, all agree that it is a kind of Ash, *Fraxinus Ornus*.

I do not propose my definition of 'auburn' as more than a conjecture, which I still think well founded. I do not believe that that colour is the same as brown, or the Italian *bruno*. My scanty knowledge is, I confess, a good deal borrowed from dictionaries. Perhaps your correspondent would oblige me by mentioning in what authority *al bruno* is to be found as the etymology of our *auburn*. I have no recollection of having seen it before. CELTIBER.

ESCHEW—CHOO. [Queries and Answers, vol. vii., p. 264, 350, 350 and 175, 351].—In my opinion both these are pure Celtic words. *Eschew* is equivalent in sense and pronunciation to the Irish *ais-thetheadh*, to retreat, to fly back; the pronunciation of which is represented in English letters by *esh-hayoo*. This would therefore indicate that *eschew* should not be pronounced *eskew*. The word *Choo* is from the same Celtic root, namely, the imperative *teitheadh* (pronounced *tshe-hoo*), "begone! fly!" or it may be *te uadh*, "go away," the sound of which is very similar: both these expressions, when rapidly pronounced, as to a dog, will coincide with *choo*. It is remarkable that the word *choo!* so pronounced, is only understood by dogs in the province of Ulster: even on the southern borders of the northern counties it is not intelligible to them. In Meath and Kildare the people say *te uadh a mhadaidh*, which, when rapidly pronounced, sounds *choo, waddy*, and signifies "go away, dog." BRAN.

QUERIES.

What was the original or primitive name of Brandon Mountains, in Kerry? St. Brendan died A.D. 576; and there can be no doubt that objects so conspicuous must have been celebrated in Celtic literature long before *his* name had become renowned. B.

Is anything known to antiquarians relative to the little island in a lake upon the summit of Fair Head, County of Antrim? It is quayed round with a stone wall, and was, therefore, probably inhabited as a place of security at some period, like the *Crannogues* in so many of our Irish loughs. HANNO.

CASH.—Can any of your readers inform me of places the names of which contain the word 'cash.' I regard it as derived from the Irish *casan*, a pathway; and it has been used in the same way as the bridge, the hill, the river. To the right of the high road leading from Hillsborough to Moira, is *the Cash*, sometimes called 'the long Cash.' It was the pathway lying directly across a large plain; and is nearly all included in the townland of Maze (originally *Bally Maes)*, 'the place of the plain.' In the County of Antrim there is the townland of Ballyma*cash*, 'the place of the pathway;' and in Montiaghs of Armagh, Derryma*cash*, 'the path in the oak wood.' No doubt, there are many other examples throughout the country. The 'long Cash' just mentioned, in the parish of Blaris, became a road about eighty years ago; but in modern times it is diverted to the right from the point where it strikes the race-course. About the year 1614, an Act was passed for the repairing and mending of high-ways, castles, and passes, and the word was then well known to the English residents. A. H.

LEAZE.—It was asserted, in the year 1537, that "*leazing* of corne in harvest season is a great cause of idleness, dearth of reaping of corne, and stealing the same." What is *leazing*, and what its etymology?

YMNAKE.—The Act of Parliament which mentions *leazing* says that persons called *Ymnakes* are received in the houses of residents during harvest season, and that these are to be discouraged. What was their exact character, and what is the etymology of the word? A. H.

Can any of your correspondents oblige me with some particulars of George Blacker, Esq., of Shaw, in the County of Antrim, who was high-sheriff of that county in the year 1660? Whose son was he? and to what family did he belong? He is the only one of the name who appears to have been connected with Antrim.

ABHBA.

PRE-CHRISTIAN NOTICES OF IRELAND.

Whatever degree of civilization the ancient Irish had attained before their reception of Christianity, there is no nation in Europe of which a more barbarous character has been drawn by pagan writers of the first century. These writers, it has been urged by those who deny the civilization of the pagan Irish, had no motive for misrepresenting the pagan inhabitants of Ierne, or Hibernia; and it has been therefore inferred that these ante-Christian writers stated what was actually true, or what they believed to be true, although they had never been in Ireland.

Respecting the degree of credit due to the native pre-Christian or bardic history of Ireland, two opposite opinions have been entertained: the one party (chiefly English or foreign writers) stating, that the accounts given by the bardic historians of all that passed in the pagan times are mere creations of the fancy, and unworthy of credit; while the other party (chiefly natives of Ireland) believe that the bards were as qualified to hand down historic truth as the most trustworthy of the classical historians. The truth evidently lies between them. The earliest recorders of human transactions in all ancient civilized nations were poets, who clothed common events with such gorgeous decorations, that modern historians have thought themselves usefully employed in the task of divesting these events of their poetical disguises, in order to exhibit them, in their true shapes, to the eyes of modern readers. In this work of reconstruction, history has become the interpreter of the dreams of poetry. By such a process it is, that Niebuhr and other modern writers have resolved into real records of human personages and events the fanciful fictions of Egypt, Greece, and Rome; and have displaced their gods from their lofty stations in the sky, and brought them back to their native earth. The Irish poet and historian, Moore, has made a remark on this subject, with respect to Irish history, which deserves consideration, as emanating from a mind attempting in old age to philosophise on history, after having previously long indulged in the divine intoxications of poetry: "While to the Greeks," he remarks, "belonged the power of throwing gracefully the veil of fiction over reality, the bardic historians may lay claim to the very different merit of giving to the wildest and most extravagant fictions the sober lineaments of fact."

In the present cursory review of the notices which the Latin and Greek writers of the four first centuries have left us—most of them pagan,—we do not pretend to be able to assign any reason or motive for their misrepresentations of our pagan ancestors, beyond the fact that Ireland was on the brink of the old world, and that, as these writers were Greeks or Romans, they must have believed that the more any nation was removed from the civilizing influence of their own countries, the more barbarous it must necessarily have been.

The earliest writers of Greece and Rome who have referred to Ireland have spoken of it in so vague a manner, that nothing certain can be inferred from their words, until the time of Diodorus, who flourished in the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius (Nero), and who states:[a]—"The most ferocious of the Gauls inhabit the northern parts [of Gallia]. They say that some of them are cannibals, like the Britons who inhabit IRIN.

The next writer who speaks of Ireland is Strabo, who is considered "an excellent writer of antiquity." He died at the beginning of the reign of the emperor Tiberius, and of his works are yet extant seventeen books on Geography. His work was published, with a Latin version, by Xylander, at Paris, in 1620, but the last edition is that of 1707, in two vols., folio, by Theodore Jansonius. It has been recently very ably translated into English by Hans Claude Hamilton, Esq., of the State Paper Office, London. Strabo has the following notice of Ireland:[b]—

"About Britannia are some small islands, and a great one, Hibernia, stretching close to Britannia, towards the North. Of this I have nothing certain to state, but that its inhabitants are more rustic [wilder] than the Britons, and that they feed on human flesh, and devour a large quantity of food, and deem it honorable to eat the bodies of their deceased parents, and to cohabit publicly, not only with other women, but also with their mothers and sisters. But the things we thus relate are destitute of witnesses worthy of credit in such affairs."[c]

The next writer who speaks unfavourably of Ireland is Pomponius Mela, an ancient Latin writer, who was born in the province of Bætica in Spain, and flourished in the reign of the emperor Claudius (A.D. 41—54). His three books of Cosmography, or *De Situ Orbis*, were edited by Isaac Vossius in 1658, and by James Gronovius in the same year. He speaks of Ireland thus:[d]—

"Beyond Britain lies Juverna, an island of nearly equal size, but oblong, with a coast on each side of equal extent, having a climate unfavourable for ripening grain, but so luxuriant

[a] "Ferocissimos esse Gallorum, qui sub septemtrionibus habitant. Dicunt ex iis nonnullos anthropophagos esse, sicut Britannos qui *Irin* tenent."—lib. 5.

[b] "Circa Britanniam sunt tum aliæ parvæ insulæ, tum magna Hibernia, versus septentrionem, juxta Britanniam porrecta, latior quam longior. De hac nihil certi habeo quod dicam, nisi quod incolæ ejus Britannis sunt magis agrestes, qui et humanis vescuntur carnibus, et plurimum cibi vorant, et pro honesto ducunt parentum mortuorum corpora comedere, ac palam concumbere, non cum aliis modo mulieribus, sed etiam cum matribus ac sororibus. Quæ quidem ita referimus, ut *fide dignis* harum rerum testibus destituti."

[c] Pinkerton, in his Antiquities of Scotland, London, 1786, vol. i., p. 81, after having misquoted and mistranslated this passage, says triumphantly: "Irishmen! the Greeks and Romans pronounce you not only barbarous, but utterly savage. In the name of that degree of rationality which even beasts have, where are the slightest marks of ancient civilization amongst you? The old inhabitants of your country, the Wild Irish, the true Milesian breed, untainted with Gothic blood, we know to be utter savages at this day."

[d] "Super Britanniam Iouverna est penè par spatio, sed utrinque æquali tractu litorum oblonga, cæli et maturandi semina iniqui, verum adeo luxuriosa herbis, non lætis modo sed etiam dulcibus, ut se exigua parte diei pecora impleant, et nisi pabulo prohibeantur, diutius pasta disiliant. Cultores ejus inconditi sunt, et omnium virtutum ignari, pietatis admodum expertes."

in grasses not merely palatable but even sweet, that the cattle in a very short time take sufficient feeding for the day, and if allowed to feed too long, they would burst. Its inhabitants are wanting in every virtue, and totally destitute of piety."

The next writer who speaks unfavourably of Ireland is Solinus, who flourished immediately before the birth of Christ, and who is mentioned by Servius, Macrobius, Priscianus, and by SS. Jerome, Ambrose, and Augustin. An edition of his work was published at Venice, in 8vo, 1485, and at Utrecht, in folio, 1689. He thus speaks of Ireland:[e]—

"Hibernia approaches to Britain in size; it is inhuman in the rough manners of its inhabitants; it is so luxuriant in its grass that unless its cattle are now and again removed from their pasturage, satiety may cause danger to them. There is there no snake, few birds, an inhospitable and warlike nation, the conquerors [among whom], having first drunk the blood of their enemies, afterwards besmear their faces therewith. They regard right and wrong alike. Whenever a woman brings forth a male child, she puts his first food on the sword of her husband, and she lightly introduces the first 'auspicium' of nourishment into his little mouth with the point of the sword; and with gentle vows, she expresses a wish that he may never meet death otherwise than in war and amid arms. Those who attend to military costume ornament the hilts of their swords with the teeth of sea-monsters, which are as white as ivory: for the men glory in their weapons. No bee has been brought thither; and if any one scatters dust or pebbles brought from thence among the hives [in other countries], the swarms desert their combs. The sea which lies between this island and Britain is stormy and tempestuous during the whole year, nor is it navigable except for a few days in the summer season. They sail in wicker vessels, which they cover all round with ox-hides. And as long as the voyage continues, the navigators abstain from food. The breadth of this island is uncertain; that it extends twenty miles is the opinion of those who have calculated nearest to the truth."

Previously to the first century, however, a diametrically opposite idea of the civilization of the western islands had prevailed among the early classical writers; and it is a curious subject for speculation to determine why their opinions of the character of their inhabitants became so suddenly

[e] "Hibernia ei [*i.e.* Britanniæ] proximat magnitudine, inhumana est ritu incolarum aspero, alias ita pabulosa, ut pecuaria ibi nisi interdum æstate pastibus arceantur, in periculum agat satietas. Illi nullus anguis, avis rara, gens inhospita et bellicosa, sanguinem interemptorum hausto prius, victores vultus suos obliniunt. Fas atque nefas eodem animo ducunt. Puerpera si quando marem edidit, primos cibos gladio imponit mariti, inque os parvuli summo mucrone auspicium alimentorum leviter infert, et gentilibus votis optat non aliter quam in bello, et inter arma mortem oppetat. Qui student cultui, dentibus marinarum bellu-arum insigniunt ensium capulos, candicant enim ad eburneam claritatem; nam præcipua viris gloria est in tœlis. Apis nusquam advecta. Inde pulverem, seu lapillos, si quis sparserit alvearia, examina favos deserunt. Mare quod inter hanc et Britanniam interluit, undosum inquietumque toto in anno, non nisi æstivis pauculis diebus est navigabile. Navigant autem vimineis alveis, quos circumdant ambitione tergorum bubulorum. Quantocumque tempore cursus tenebit, navigantes vescis abstinent. Fieri latitudinem incertum, virginti millia passuum diffundi, qui fidem ad verum rationale sunt æstimarunt."

reversed. Homer, and other poets of antiquity, had placed in those isles of the Hesperides, the abodes of the pious, and the Elysian fields of the blest. These were, no doubt, popular traditions, mere creations of the fancy, adopted into the poetry of the Greeks before any clear knowledge of the realities had reached them. In the *Argonautics*, a poem written more than five hundred years before the Christian era, there is a vague reference to the Atlantic Ocean, in which Ireland alone seems glanced at, under the name of Iernis. In the Geographical Poem of Festus Avienus, written in the third or fourth century, is contained the most curious reference to the antiquity and sacred character of Ireland that has yet been discovered. Avienus informs us that he had access to the Punic records which had been deposited by Himilco[f] in one of the temples of Carthage, and which still existed in the fourth century, when they were interpreted to him. The result he has transmitted to posterity in his geographical poem, an edition of which was printed at Venice, in 1488, and another in London, by Mattaire, in his *Corpus Poetarum Veterum*, 1713, vol. ii. The part relating to Ireland and Britain will be found in this edition, p. 1334. This poem furnishes by far the most interesting glimpses derived from the Latin writers of the early condition of ancient Ireland. The Œstrumnides (now the Scilly islands) are described as two days' sail from the larger Sacred Island, inhabited by the Hiberni; and in the neighbourhood of the latter, the Island of the Albiones, it is said, extends. The commerce carried on by the people of Gades with the 'Tin Isles' is expressly mentioned by this poet, who adds, that "the husbandmen or planters (coloni) of Carthage, as well as her common people, frequented these seas and visited these islands."

In this short sketch the features of Ireland are brought into view far more prominently than those of Albion. It describes the hide-covered boats, or *currachs*, in which the inhabitants of these islands navigated their seas; the populousness of the island of the Hiberni, and the gleby nature of its soil. But the most remarkable fact mentioned in this poem is, that Ireland was then, and had been from ancient times, called the *Sacred Island*. The period of the expeditions of Hanno and Himilco has not been fixed by the learned; but Pliny informs us that they took place during the most flourishing epoch of Carthage. Bishop Stillingfleet, who had no belief in the early annals or bardic history of Ireland, states, in his Antiquities of the British Churches, (chap. 5,) in reference to the Argonautics and this poem of Avienus—"These are undoubted testimonies of the ancient people of Ireland, and of far greater authority than those domestic annals now so much extolled."

We here present our readers with that part of Avienus's poem which relates to the Irish and the neighbouring isles:—

"Sub hujus autem prominentis vertice,
Sinus dehiscit incolis Œstrymnicis,

[f] *Himilco.*—Two separate expeditions were undertaken by Hanno and Himilco, two Carthaginian navigators, beyond the Straits, sometime previously to the time of Alexander the Great. Hanno sailed in a southern direction, and of his voyage we have a record in the 'Periplus.'

In quo Insulæ sese exerunt Œstrymnides;
Laxe jacentes, et mettallo divites,
Stanni atque plumbi. Multa vis hic gentis est.
Superbus animus, efficax solertia.
Negociandi cura jugis omnibus.
Notisque cymbis turbidum late fretum,
Et belluosi gurgitem Oceani secant.
Non hi carinas quippe pinu texere
Facere morem non abiete, ut usus est
Curvant fasello: sed rei ad miraculum
Navigia junctis semper aptant pellibus,
Corioque vastum saepe percurrunt salum.
Ast hinc duobus in Sacram,—sic Insulam
Dixere Prisci—Solibus cursus rati est
Hæc inter undas multum cespitem jacit,
Eamque late gens Hibernorum colit.
Propinqua rursus Insula Albionum patet.
Tartesiisque in terminos Œstrumnidum
Negociandi mos erat, Carthaginis
Etiam Colonis et vulgus inter Herculis
Agitans Columnas, hæc adibant æquora,
Quæ Himilco Pœnus mensibus vix quatuor
Ut ipse semet rem probasse retulit,
Enavigantem posse transmitti asserit.
Hæc olim Himilco Pœnus Oceanus super,
Spectasse semet, et probasse retulit;
Hæc nos, ab imis Punicorum Annalibus,
Prolata longo tempore, edidimus tibi."

"Beneath this lofty promontory opens
A spacious harbour, from whence the Œstrumnides
Are plainly seen, a scattered group of islands,
In valued metals—tin and lead—abounding.
These isles are peopled by a race most hardy
Of haughty men, whose minds are deep and subtle,
Whose constant aim is gain and metal-traffic.

These men traverse the seas in strangest vessels,
Nor have they ships of fir or pine constructed,
As polished Romans have; but, stranger wonder,
They build their boats of twigs and hides of oxen;
And o'er the surface of the angry ocean
They sail, protected by a thing so slender!
From these small isles the mariner arrives at
The SACRED ISLAND by two days' short sailing.
This isle is SACRED nam'd by all the ancients,
From times remotest in the womb of Chronos.
This isle, which rises o'er the waves of ocean,
Is covered with a sod of rich luxuriance,
And peopled far and wide by the Hiberni;
And next it lies the Isle of th' Albiones.
The famed Tartesians once were wont to traffic
With these Tin Islands, called the Œstrumnides,
And haunt these seas, as did the Carthaginians,
And eke their brave adventurous descendants,
Who dwelt betwixt old Hercules's Pillars.
In four months this voyage is made by seamen,
As states Himileo, the old Phœnician sailor,
Who had himself in four months' time performed it.
These things Himileo states, that Carthaginian
Who had himself both seen and proved them fairly;
The same do we now publish to thee, reader;
We have derived them from the ancient annals
Of the Phœnicians, from times remote transmitted."

It would be a very melancholy consideration, if this sacred island of the Hesperides—the abode of the Pious, and the Elysian fields of the Blest—should turn out, when the reality became known, to have been the abode of incestuous cannibals; but it is very much to be suspected that the reports of the geographers above quoted were founded on some mistaken notions of the pagan ceremonies practised by the Hiberni. The primitive Christians themselves were accused by their pagan enemies of eating human flesh, from the fact that their accusers mistook the mystical meaning of the Eucharist. The geographer Strabo has extracted from a still more ancient geographer a curious fragment of antiquity, in which we are told of an island near Britain where sacrifices were offered to Ceres and Proserpine in the same manner as at Samothrace, an island in the Ægean sea, where the Cabiric

mysteries were celebrated. The nature of these celebrations has been only guessed at, because the authors who have treated of them say that it was unlawful to reveal them. But the testimony of these pagan geographers regarding Ireland would have weighed very lightly with modern Christian writers, had not the great Christian father, St. Jerome, left us his own testimony of the cannibalism of the Scoti of his time in such emphatic words. This irate father has, in his second book against Jovianian, the following words:—"Quid loquar de cæteris nationibus, cum ipse adolescentulus in Gallia viderim Scotos gentem Britannicam humanis vesci carnibus? Et cum per sylvas porcorum greges et armentorum pecudumque reperirent, pastorum nates fœminarumque papillas abscindere solitos, et eas solas delicias arbitrari?"

These words of St. Jerome are most extraordinary, and have been received as decisive proof of the cannibalism of the pagan Scoti (or Irish) by grave writers down to our own times. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the celebrated Jesuit, Edmund Campion, has the following reference to this passage in his *Historie of Irelande*, (c. vi.):—

"Solinus writeth that they woonted to embrue their faces in the bloude of their ennemyes slaine. Strabo, the famous Geographer, who flourished under Augustus and Tiberias Cæsar, more than fifteen hundred yeares agoe, telleth (without asseveration) that the Irish were greate gluttones, eaters of man's flesh, and counted it honourable for parents deceased to be eaten up of their children; and that in open sight they meddled with their wives, mothers, and daughters: which is the less incredible, considering what St. Hierome avoucheth of the Scots, their offspring and allies,[g] and what all histories do witnesse of the Scythians, their auncient founders."

In connexion with this subject it may not be out of place to remark, that an ancient Scholiast on Horace's Odes (lib. iii., ode iv., line 33 states) that the ancient Britons used to eat their guests; but that Baxter asserts, in his edition of Horace, that the poet meant the Irish! His words may be translated thus: "This is rather to be understood of the Irish. St. Jerome writes that he himself saw two Scoti (*i.e.* Irishmen) in Gaul feeding on a human carcase. Even in our own time the people of this island are most haughty towards foreigners: thinking that they themselves alone are men, they nearly regard the rest of mankind as brutes!!"

The first of the native writers who attempted to refute these statements of the foreign writers above quoted was Dr. Keating, who, though he was not of ancient Irish or Milesian descent, entered upon the defence of the bardic history of Ireland with more enthusiastic earnestness than any of the natives. His argument is as follows:—

"Atáid cuid do na sean-ughdaraibh a chuireas neithe bréagacha i leith na n-Eireannach, mar

[g] *Offspring and allies.*—The good Campion certainly errs here. The Scoti of St. Jerome's time (he died in the year 420, aged 91) were certainly the Irish themselves, and not the Scots of North Britain, their descendants and allies. Baxter is, in this instance, more correct than Camden, but both were sufficiently imbued with prejudices against the ancient and modern Irish.

a deir Strabo, san treas leabhar, gurab lucht feola daoinedh d' itheadh na h-Eireannaigh. Mo fhreagra air Strabo, gurab bréag dho a rádh, gurab lucht feola daoineadh d' itheadh na h-Eireannaigh, oir ni leightear 'san seanchus go raibh neach a n-Eirinn riamh ler cleachtadh feoil daoinedh d' itheadh acht Eithne Uathach, inghean Chrimhthainn mhic Eana Chinnsealaigh, righ Laighean, do bhi air daltachas ag Deisibh Mumhan, agus do h-oileadh leo i ar fheoil naoidhean i ndoigh go mbadh luathaide do bhiadh inuachar é; oir do tairngireadh dóibh féin fearann d'fagháil o'n bhfear re mbiadh si pósta; agus le h-Aengus mac Nadfraoich, righ Mumhan, do pósadh i, amhail a dearam da éis so a g-corp na staire. Tuig, a leightheoir, mar nach tochtaid na seanchadha an nidh déistcanach so, do ba mhasla d'inghin righ Laighean agus do mhnaoi righ Mumhan, nach g-ceilfidís gan a nochtadh air dhaoinibh ba uirísle, da mbadh nós do bhiadh air congbhàil a n-Eirinn é; agus mar sin, is bréagach do Strabo a rádh gurab nós d'Eireannchaibh feoil daoinedh d'itheadh, agus gan da dhénamh acht an t-aen nduine, agus sin féin re linn na págantachta. Mo fhreagra air S. Jerom a luaidheas an nidh cédna ag scriobhadh a n-aghaidh Jovinian, go bhéadfadh ainteastach bréag do reic leis, agus mar sin nar dhligh si dhul a bfiachaibh ar Eircanchaibh.

"A deir Solinus san 21 caibidil, nach bfuilid beich a n-Eirinn; agus gurab do dheis a chloidhimh fromhthar an chéd mhír le gein mheic a n-Eirinn. A deir fós go n-déin an t-Eireannach a dhealbh d'inlat a bhfuil a námhad, an tan mharbhthar leis é. Acht is follus as an seanchus a bhias san stair gach nídh dibh so do bheith bréagach.

"A deir Pomponius Mela 'san treas leabhar ag labhairt ar Eireannchaibh na briathra so: 'Drong ainbhfiosach iad is na h-uile shubhailcibh.' Agus mar sin do mhorán do shean-ughdaraibh cile coigcriche do scriobh go meardhàna mitheastach ar Eirinn, da nar chóir creidemhain ina shamhail so do nidh; agus is uime sin a deir Camden ag cur teastas na muintire-si síos air Eirinn na briathra so: 'Ni fhuil' ar sé, 'fiadhnaise inchreidthe air na neithibh-se againn.' Is follus gurab bréagach a rádh nach rabhadar beich a n-Eirinn, do reir Chamden chédna, mar a n-abair ag labhairt air Eirinn: 'Ata an oircad sin do bheachaibh innte, nach é amháin a mbeachlannaibh, no a gcorcógaibh, acht a gccapaibh chrann agus a gcuasaibh talmhan a gheibhthear iad."[h]

[h] The foregoing observations and arguments of the simple-minded Keating are thus rendered into Latin by the celebrated Gratianus Lucius [Dr. John Lynch]:—

"Nonnulli ex antiquissimis etiam scriptoribus aliqua Hibernis affixerunt, quorum e numero Strabo est, qui, libro quarto, Hibernos humanarum carnium helluones esse affirmat. Verum Strabo ut cetera convitium loquar toto cælo errat; non possumus enim ex vetustis scriptorum [Hibernicum] monumentis expiscari Hibernum ullum earnibus humanis vesci solitum, si excipias Ethneam Uathaeh, Crimthanni regis Lageniæ filiam, Ennæ Kenselachi neptem, quæ nutricationem apud Desios Momoniæ nacta infantilibus artubus ab ils ideo pasta fuit, ut nubiles annos eo citius attingeret, nempè præsagitum erat, amplos eis fundos ab alumno marito collatum iri; atque is tandem fuit Aengus Natfræhi filius, Momoniæ rex, quemadmodum in historiæ progressu signantius memorabitur.

"Itaque quemadmodum scriptores rem hanc, quæ non modicam dedecoris maculam filiæ regis Lageniæ et Momoniæ regis uxori inurerat populare non dubitaverint, haud est verisimile commissuros si ritus ejusmodi ab inferioris ordinis hominibus usurparetur, ut id tacitum haberent. Quare Strabonem gravissime hallucinari quis infieias ibit, cum humanarum carnium mandueandarum ignominiam in

"There are some ancient authors who misrepresent the Irish, particularly Strabo, who asserts, in his third book, that the Irish live upon human flesh. I answer, that Strabo must mistake in thus asserting the Irish to be cannibals; for in our ancient records we do not read of any one who was accustomed to eat human flesh except Eithne, daughter of Criffan MacEanna Cinselaeh, who was nursed by the Deisies, and fed on the flesh of children, in hopes of her sooner arriving at maturity: for it was prophesied that the fosterers of this lady should receive lands from her husband; and she was married to Ængus MacNadfraigh, King of Munster, as shall be noticed hereafter in the body of this history. The reader will perceive that when antiquaries relate this fact, so disgraceful to the daughter of a King of Leinster, and the wife of a King of Munster, they would not connive at it in people of inferior rank, if ever the practice prevailed in Ireland—therefore, Strabo is false in asserting it to be a *custom* in Ireland to eat human flesh, when we find but a solitary instance of it, and that even in the days of paganism. In answer to St. Jerome, who asserts the same in writing against Jovinian, I say that he must have received this information from venders of lies, and that it should not be credited to the prejudice of the Irish. Solinus, in his twenty-first chapter, says that there are no bees in Ireland; and that the male children receive their first food from the point of a sword; he says, also, that the Irishman is wont, when he kills an enemy, to wash his face in his blood; but it is evident from this history that every word of this is false. Pomponius Mela, in his third book, speaking of the Irish, says they were 'ignorant of every virtue.' Many other writers, to whose falsehoods not the slightest credit or attention should be paid, speak in this rash and insupportable strain; which made Camden, when he gave an account of the Irish, say: 'for these facts we have no credible witnesses.' It is evident, from the same Camden, that it is false to assert that there are no bees in Ireland, for, speaking of Ireland, he says, 'Such is the quantity of bees, that they are found not only in hives, but also in the trunks of trees, and in holes in the ground.'"
—*Haliday's Edition of Keating*, p. 17 to 19.

universam derivat nationem, et unicum tantum ejus rei documentum post hominum memoriam exhiberi posset, idque dum adhuc paganismi tenebris tenerentur implicati. Et licet idem a Sancto Hieronimo contra Jovinianum asseratur, tam sancti viri bonitas facile potuit adduci ut quæ vulgi rumoribus circumferebatur literis mandaverit. Cum ergo rei veritas non tanti viri, sed rumusculorum fide initatur, non est cur ad Hiberniam ex illius verbis infamia ulla redundet, tanto magis, quòd non Scotos aut Hibernos, sed Attacottos eâ labe contaminatos fuisse scribat.

"Solinus, cap. 35, apibus Hiberniam carere, et Hibernos vultus suos interemptorum hostium cruore oblinire, et primos cibos in ore marium ensis mucrone ingerere, scribit; verum infra liquido constabit haec a veritate quam alienissima esse. Pomponius etiam Mela, Lib. 3, de Hibernis agens, omnium virtutum ignaros esse scribit. Multa præterea probra prisci scriptores exteri in Hiberniam effutiverunt; sed eum nullo locupletes testimonio fulciantur, fides iis tanquam splendidissimis mendaciis abrogari debet. Et Camdenus quidem cùm recensita mox testimonia produxisset, protinus à Strabone subjunxit: horum qua commemoravimus dignos fide testes non habemus. Et S. Hieronymus citato L. 2. contra Jovinianum (ut bene observavit Erasmus et Camdenus) non dicit Scotos (ut vulgus calumniatur), sed Attacotos gentem Britannicam vesci humanis carnibus. Verba Sancti Hieronimi, (inquit Vitus in Cornice), ut emendatiora habent exemplaria, quæ Vincentius Belvacensis legit, hæc sunt: 'Vidi ego (Sanctus Hieronimus) in Gallia adolescentem Attacotum gente Britannicum carnibus vesci humanis &c.'"

If the disgusting story about feeding the daughter of the King of Leinster on the flesh of infants, in the time of Aengus MacNadfraech the first Christian king of Munster, were true, or written by a contemporaneous author, it would go very far indeed to corroborate the statements of Solinus, Strabo, and St. Jerome; but it is evidently a bardic legend of the tenth century, entirely unworthy of credit.

Pelloutier, who sought for everything that might do honour to the Celts, took much pains to contradict St. Jerome, and to maintain that his credulity was imposed upon. Keating says that he might have been imposed upon by an *antestach*, that is, a person unworthy of credit. But St. Jerome speaks very gravely of what he had seen with his own eyes. We might with deference doubt of what he had heard others say; but to doubt of what he had seen himself is throwing great discredit on so great a father of the Church. It is very remarkable, however, that he accuses Celestius, the 'Scotic dog' (who had criticised his Commentaries on the Epistle of St. Paul to the Ephesians) of eating stirabout! On such a subject as cannibalism, so degrading to human nature, the safest way is to doubt of everything, even of what we have seen ourselves, until proof positive is adduced.

Doctor O'Conor, who has printed all the foregoing passages in his *Prolegomena*, part i., has the following remarks (in Latin) on St. Jerome's assertion about the cannibalism of the Scoti, p. lxxiv.:—

"St. Jerome died in the ninety-first year of his age, in the reign of Honorius, A.D. 420, as stated in the Chronicle of Prosper, edited by the Benedictines. He was therefore born in the year 329, and was a young man in the year 350. The Scoti, therefore, were wont to cross over not only into Britain, but also into Gaul, either for the purpose of making predatory excursions, or sent for as Roman auxiliaries. Of this their huge barbarity, three things are to be remarked:—that St. Jerome acknowledges that he was not only a youth, but a *little boy*, at the time; next, that he was a man of very fervid temper, even at an advanced age, for he asserts that he was flogged by an angel, because he had read Cicero; thirdly, that it was a custom in Gaul, as everywhere, to frighten children by stories concerning *Scythic* barbarity, to prevent them from wandering and miching from school and their teachers; fourthly, that this story is repugnant to nature and experience, for it would not be easy to make one believe that a cannibal would rather eat the buttocks of a shepherd (Jerome, a little boy, being present) than Jerome himself! Finally, that St. Jerome was in the habit of writing very acrimoniously against the heretics: nor did he think of restraining himself from calling them rude, filthy, carnal men, in fact, beastly monsters. I said that what he relates to have seen when a little boy is repugnant to experience and nature. Pliny, indeed, states that the Scythians were cannibals, lib. 7, c. 2. But how does he prove this? Hear himself: 'We have stated that the race of the Scythians, and also others, are fed on the bodies of men. This thing would probably be incredible, if we did not consider that, in the middle

of the globe, and in Sicily and Italy, there were nations of such monstrosity, (the Cyclops and Læstrygonæ); and that very lately, beyond the Alps, to immolate men was the custom of these nations, which is not far from eating them. But according to those who dwell towards the north, not far from the rising of Aquilo, and called from his cave, which place they call Gescliton, are found the Arismapi, who are remarkable for having an eye in the middle of the forehead.' These are the words of Pliny, who is compelled to have recourse to the Gorgons and Harpies and Læstrygones, and other fabulous creations of the poets, to give a colour to the absurd notions of the Romans concerning the Scythians, and to defend the fantasies and bugbear stories which he had heard from his mother, and which he was not able to reject."

On the subject of cannibalism we have the opinions of ancient and modern writers, and many Christian philosophers, who have declared that human beings have been unjustly charged with it. It is, however, but too true, alas! that there have been cannibals, and it is not improbable that they are still to be found. Juvenal states that, among the Egyptians, so renowned for their wisdom and laws, the Tentyrites devoured one of their enemies who had fallen into their hands. He also states that the Gascons and the Saguntines formerly fed on the flesh of their countrymen.

A lively French writer mentions that, in the year 1725, four savages were brought from the Mississippi to Fontainbleau, with whom he had "the honour of conversing;" that there was among them a lady of the country, of whom he inquired if she had eaten men. She answered, with great *naîveté*, that she had. The Frenchman appeared astonished, and scandalized: on which the cannibal lady excused herself by saying, "that it was better to eat one's dead enemy than to leave him to be devoured by wild beasts, and that the conquerors, surely, deserve to have a preference!" In all the Lives of St. Patrick, many tribes of the pagan Irish are represented as stubborn pagans; but no passage occurs which suggests the remotest idea of their having been *anthropophagi*. In St. Patrick's *Confessio*, the 'Hiberiones' are called *barbari*, who never had any knowledge of God, but had worshipped idols and unclean things up to his time. It is very natural to suppose that, if they had been cannibals in Patrick's time, some reference to this hideous custom would have been made by some of the apostle's biographers. St. Patrick himself would, in all probability, have told us something on the subject in his *Confessio*. The late Dr. Prichard, in a letter to the writer of these remarks, stated that it was his belief that the ancient Irish were not anthropophagi. Whatever they may have been when their island was called *Insula Sacra*, there are no people in Europe who are more squeamish in the use of meats than the modern Irish peasantry, for they have a horror of every kind of carrion; they hate the French because they eat frogs, and the English, because they eat young crows; and still, we have strong evidence to prove that their ancestors used to eat horse-flesh so late as the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

With respect to the other statement of Solinus, which Keating attempts to refute on the

authority of Camden, namely, that there were no bees in Ireland in his (Solinus's) time, it is but fair to acknowledge that this is not contradicted by the traditions among the Irish themselves. The existence of bees in vast abundance in Ireland in Camden's time is no proof of their existence there fifteen hundred years earlier. It is distinctly stated that St. Modomnoc, or Dominic, of Lannbeachaire, near Balbriggan, in Fingal, a disciple of St. David of Wales, was the first who introduced bees into Ireland. We here place Colgan's note on the subject before our readers, and hope that some more learned "apiarians" than ourselves will turn their attention to the subject:—

"What is here stated is borne out by the authority of two Hagiologists and of four different historians, to wit, that this St. Dominic was the first who brought bees into Ireland. That there were no bees in Ireland before this time (although it is a matter of dispute and controversy) would seem to be confirmed by the authority of Solinus, who writes of Ireland as follows, before the birth of Christ:—'There is no snake there; few birds; no bee; so that, if any one should scatter dust or pebbles brought from thence among the hives [in other countries] the bees would desert their combs.' And Isidorus Hispalensis transmits exactly the same thing about Ireland. It is certain, however, in the first place, that in the time of Isidore, who flourished about the year 600, Ireland abounded in bees and honey; for Bede states, in his Ecclesiastical History, lib. i. c. i., that 'the island was rich in milk and honey, and that it did not lack vines; and that it was remarkable for its abundance of fish, birds, and deer.' St. Dominic [Modomnoc], who is said to have first introduced bees into Ireland, flourished many years before Isidore; and in the Acts of our Saints, frequent mention is made of bees and honey as then existing in Ireland. Therefore, Isidore relies on the testimony of Solinus alone, whose words he has transcribed, without having examined their truth. But Solinus, for this and other things which he has written about Ireland, without certain foundation or testimony, is justly censured by David Rothe, in his elucidation of the Life of St. Patrick, as well as by Giraldus Cambrensis, (in his Topography of Ireland, dist. i. c. 5,) and other native and foreign writers. But that bees and honey had existed in Ireland before this Dominic was born, is evident from the irrefragable testimony of the rule of St. Albeus, in which (No. 37) we read:—'When they [the monks] sit down at table, let there be brought [*i.e.* served] herbs or roots washed with water, in clean baskets, also apples, beer, and honey from the hive, the breadth of an inch, *i.e.*, so much of honey-combs.' Now, St. Albeus flourished in the time of St. Patrick, and for some years before his arrival, or before the year 432. Therefore, against the authority of St. Ængus and others who assert positively that St. Dominicus [Modomnoc] was the first who brought bees into Ireland, it is to be remarked that this should be understood only of a certain species of bees; for there are in Ireland domestic or hive bees, and wild bees, and bees of different kinds and colours. St. Dominic seems to have first introduced the first *hive* bees into Ireland, from whose seed the domestic bees have been disseminated in that country."

It is stated in the Life of St. David, that when Modomnoc (or Dominic) was with St. David at Menevia, in Wales, he was charged with the care of the bee-hives, and that the bees became so attached to him that they followed him to Ireland! Giraldus gravely says, that the bees continued to fall off at Menevia ever since Modomnoc's time. (See Lanigan's Eccl. History, vol. ii., p. 320.) This story made its way to Ireland before the time of Giraldus. The probability is, that we had wild bees in Ireland long before St. David's time; for in the Confession of St. Patrick, mention is made of wild honey apparently as a substance well known in Ireland in Patrick's time.[1]

JOHN O'DONOVAN.

THE CLAN OF THE MACQUILLINS OF ANTRIM.

IN looking over some late numbers of the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, two excellent articles, —one on the "Ruins of Bun-na-Mairge," the other entitled, "Gleanings in Family History from the Antrim Coast,"—suggested the thought of bringing before your readers further fragments from Antrim Chronicles, that serve to elucidate the general subject. We have gathered the information embodied in the following pages from the private records and historical notices of a family that once reigned supreme over the glens and coasts of Antrim, before the ancestors of most of those now in possession had set foot in Ireland. We allude to the MacQuillins of Dalriada, who in the North of Ireland are erroneously regarded as having no living representative, save what may be found among the peasantry around Dunluce, whose claims are only attested by their names.[a] It is full time that this illusion should be dispelled, as there is a highly respectable family of MacQuillins at present belonging to the County of Wexford, who have in their possession documentary evidence, handed down from past generations, which proves them to be lineal descendants of the ancient lords of Ulidia. The records and papers of the family in question have been kindly placed in our hands, and from them we have gleaned not only a clear account of the family lineage, but various other facts that have an important bearing on points discussed in the two articles we have cited.

The MacQuillins hold that they are descended from Fiacha MacUillin, youngest son to Niall of the Nine Hostages; and that their ancestors, from the beginning of the fifth century to the latter end of the twelfth, were, according to native phraseology, "kings" or princes of Ulidia, and from the

[1] See also, on this subject, *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. vii., p. 172.—EDIT.

[a] And even their names present their claims in a very questionable form, if, as has been stated, McQuilkin be the nearest approach to McQuillin that is now to be found among the peasantry.

twelfth to the sixteenth, of Dalriada. We do not find that any authentic Irish history can be produced which disproves this their claim. We are well aware, however, that settlers and their friends from England and Scotland, who obtained grants of different sections of the MacQuillin property in the seventeenth century, in order to lessen the popular sense of wrong at the expulsion of the only remnant of the Dalriadan proprietors that bore the ancestral name, assiduously represented the MacQuillins as an alien race. And thus it was said that, taking their antecedents into account, they had no great right to complain of being dispossessed. Some declared they were descended from a son of Llewelyn, Prince of Wales, who had intruded himself into Dalriada in the twelfth century; but of the particular details of whose intrusion no written account could ever be mentioned. Another story said they were descended from an English or Norman lord, whose name was William, and whose family assumed the name of MacWillies, which ultimately became MacQuillin. Thus, in the large work styling itself the *Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland*, we find, under the head of "Dunluce," the following statement:—"In the fifteenth century, it (Dunluce Castle) belonged to a noble English family, of the name of MacWillies, who afterwards came to be called MacQuillin, and to be regarded as an Irish family; and in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, it passed into the possession of the MacDonnells of the Hebrides." Of course these particulars are taken by the compiler, unconscious of their character, from some of the early fabrications that were got up for a special purpose, as we cannot imagine the publishers of the *Gazetteer* in question would wish to circulate a false statement. However, it is evident that they had not done their part in the examination of native history, when they could give currency to such a historical blunder. It is certain that not a word can be found in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, nor any other Irish annals we know of, which suggests the idea of the MacQuillins being an alien race, but much that indicates they are not. During the centuries that intervened between Fiacha MacUillin, their great ancestor, and the irruption of the Norman lords into Ulster, the kings of Ulidia (according to the MacQuillin MS.) were elected from the descendants of that Fiacha.

There is some ambiguity cast around the name *MacQuillin*, from the various spellings under which it is presented to us in different ages. In the first place, Q does not belong to it at all in the original. But in different cases of the word, or by different writers, we find it spelled MacUidhilin, MacUillin, Mag Cuilline Coilin, and Mag Uali; whilst collateral evidence proves that in all those instances it is the same name. Another ambiguity has arisen from its occasional association, during the twelfth century, with the name *Dunslevey*. Under date 1178, we have the following chronicle:—"Murough O'Carrol and Cu Uladh, son of Dunslevey, King of Uladh, attacked De Courcy's forces, of whom they slew four hundred and fifty."[b] Dunslevey has been explained as signifying 'The Mountain Fortress,' which fortress, belonging to the kings of Ulidia, is said to have been situated on one of the Mourne Mountains. There are several indications which go to prove

[b] Uladh, Ullin, and Ulidia all signify the same region—the present Counties of Down and Antrim.

that Dunslevey was not, under any phase, the real surname of the family which occupied that fortress, several of whom were conspicuous as kings of Ulster during the 12th century. Whilst they were popularly called Dunslevey, from their mountain castle, it appears that they belonged either to the MacUillin or the O'Huigin families, both of whom were descendants of Fiacha, son of Niall. It has thus been suggested that there may have been two branches of Fiacha MacUillin's descendants, one residing at Rath Mor, in Moylinnie, the other at Dunslevey—who, according to national usage, being of the same origin, were equally eligible to the kingship of Ulidia—and that the Dunslevey branch was annihilated by De Courcy. It may either have been so, or that Dunslevey in that age had become the principal royal residence of the kings of Ulidia, and that, when De Courcy assumed the title of Earl of Ulidia, or Ulster, the ancient princes were forced to leave their mountain-fortress, as well as to renounce the title of kings of Ulidia. Be that as it may, after the twelfth century the MacQuillin territory was limited to Dalriada, and their residence established at Rath Mor Mag Uillin; and we hear no more of Dunslevey as a name among the Ulster chieftains, unless *Sleven* MacQuillin, in the 14th century, can be regarded as an exception.

Dalriada, as compared with other parts of Ireland, was in a very quiet state during the thirteenth century. Whilst neighbouring chiefs were at war with the English, and with one another, peace prevailed there. Hence, there is no mention in the chronicles of that century of Dalriadan war, or of any defences or attacks of MacQuillin chieftains. And during the fourteenth century, in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, Dalriada and its lords appear only in a peaceful character. In 1358, the Annals tell us that "Senicen MacQuillin, high-constable of the province of Ulster, died." In ten years after, they record the death of his successor, a "Sleven MacQuillin," whom also they style "constable of the province of Ulster." These circumstances indicate that the lords of Dalriada were on good terms with the English; and, either by tact or by treaty, had kept the aggressive English generals from making any very formidable inroads on that part of the principality which had been left to the MacQuillins as a patrimony.

The river Bann and Lough Neagh, according to our MacQuillin manuscript, formed the western boundary of that northern region, secured to its ancient lords till Hugh Buidhe O'Neill, one of the Tyrone chiefs, crossing the Bann in the fourteenth century, took possession of a district to the east of Lough Neagh. His posterity afterwards retained it, and were called Clann Aodha Buidhe, or *the Clan of Yellow Hugh.* The district of country was by the English named Clandeboy, embodying in some degree the sound of the native name. How far the intrusion of that O'Neill on the MacQuillin territory was resisted, we have no detail by the *Four Masters;* but as they afterwards regarded the occupancy of Clandeboy by the O'Neills as an usurpation, the latter must have taken possession by force. "De Courcy and De Lacy," says our Manuscript, "were styled Earls of Ulster by the kings of England, but the English monarchs had not possession of a tenth part of Ulster to give to any person for some centuries after their time."—Of course not, in the sense in which "Ulster" is now

understood. But it would seem that the Ulad and Ulidia of that day was the Ulster of the English, and included little more than the Counties of Down and Antrim. De Burgo also had the title of Earl of Ulster; and he said he was MacWilliam, the true lord and chieftain of Ulidia. That name seems to have been assumed to please the native ear, but without any expectation that he would ever be recognised by the people themselves as a "MacQuillin," however truly he might be called "MacWilliam."

Although Dalriada, throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, seems to have been prosperous and peaceful under the sway of its native lords, the case was different during the two succeeding ones. The defence of their paternal estates in the Glinns and Route, and reprisals on their plunderers, native and foreign, often bring the MacQuillin name forward in the Irish annals during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. English control was then weak, and Scottish adventurers (the descendants of a people that had emigrated from the North of Ireland about a thousand years before) frequently came over, sometimes as friends, sometimes as plunderers. Conspicuous among these were the MacDonnells, lords of the Hebrides. Between that family and those of the Northern Irish princes intermarriages had taken place, which gave them a still greater familiarity with, and friendly footing in, the country. But the inclination which some of them began to manifest in the sixteenth century to take up their abode in Ulster awakened the suspicions of the native lords. Of all these chieftains, one alone seems to have been the unwavering friend of the MacDonnells: this was Edward, who succeeded Roderick MacQuillin, and was either son or grandson to Walter MacQuillin. The very year after the brave Roderick MacQuillin's death, we find this Edward, his heir and successor, inviting the MacDonnells to Dunluce. However, on that occasion his object seems to have been to obtain their aid in recovering some fortresses that had been wrested from him, a few months before, by the O'Donnell and O'Kane. The *Four Masters* say—"1544. O'Donnell marched with a force into the Route, in the north of County Antrim, and took Inis-an-Lochain, on which was a wooden castle and an impregnable fortress, in the possession of MacQuillin; and after O'Donnell had taken the castle, he gave it to O'Kane. On the same expedition, O'Donnell took the castle of Baile-an-Locha [Ballylough, in the parish of Billy], and he found much property, consisting of arms, armour, brass, iron, butter, and provisions, in these castles. O'Donnell also took, after that, Inis-Locha-Burrann and Inis-Locha-Leithinnsi [Loughlynch, in the parish of Billy], in which he likewise found much property. After having burned the surrounding country, he victoriously returned home safe."—

"The sons of MacDonnell (Alexander), namely, James and Colla, accompanied by a body of Scots, came by invitation to MacQuillin, and they and MacQuillin proceeded to Inis-an-Lochain, and took the town from O'Kane's guards. Bryan, the son of Donogh O'Kane, and all that were with him in Inis-an-Lochain, together with all the property, arms, armour, and spoils, were entirely burned by them; and MacQuillin committed great destruction on O'Kane at that time." In eleven

years we again find the Scotch intruders in Dalriada striving to get possession of land from their friend MacQuillin:—

"1555. Thomas Susig (Thomas Sussex), a new Lord-Justice, came to Ireland, and Anthony St. Leger, the old Lord-Justice, was recalled." That Lord-Justice immediately after "marched with an army, at the instigation of O'Neill, to expel the MacDonnells and the Scots, who were taking possession of, and making settlements in, the Route and Clandeboy. The Lord-Justice, with his forces, remained for six weeks, making devastation on the Scots, and he committed many depredations on them, and slew one or two hundred of the Scots, and afterwards returned with his forces, without receiving submission or hostages."

In another ten years, the Scots are attacked more successfully by the forces of the O'Neill:—

"1565. O'Neill, *i.e.* John, the son of Con, son of Con, son of Henry, gave the sons of MacDonnell of Scotland (*i.e.* of Alexander), namely, James, Angus, and Sorley, a great overthrow, in which Angus was slain, and James wounded and taken prisoner, and he died in a year after, of the mortification of his wounds. His death was very much lamented; he was a man distinguished for hospitality, feats of arms, liberality, conviviality, generosity, and the bestowal of gifts. There was not his equal among the Clan Donnell of Ireland or of Scotland at that time."[c]

Of these three sons of Alexander MacDonnell (he who had been with his brother guest at Dunluce in 1544), only Sorley now remained. Edward MacQuillin, who never was able to refuse the hospitality of his castle to the son of his old friend, had sons of his own now who had begun to view the MacDonnells with less favour than their father did. About two years after Sorley MacDonnell had been discomfitted and obliged to return home, his son, Alexander, a dashing young officer, who had served in the English army, resolved to try his fortune among the MacQuillins. The MacQuillin manuscript says:—

"About the year 1567,[d] Coll (or Alexander) MacDonnell, came into the country with a party of well-armed Highlanders on pretence of helping some of the petty princes of Ulster against others with whom they were then at war; but their real business to Ireland being to fish in troubled waters. MacDonnell had served under Lord Sussex against the Scots, his own countrymen, at the taking of the Island of Raghery, also elsewhere. He had received from him, as a reward for his services, a gold-mounted sword and gold spurs. On the confiscation of the monastic lands, Queen Elizabeth had presented him with a grant of the monastery of Glenarm and all the lands belonging thereto;" giving him thereby a legal footing in that region to which the attention of his family had latterly been so much directed. Thus prepared for an adventurous game, this favoured but unscrupulous young officer sought to ingratiate himself with the family which had so often hospitably entertained his ancestors.

[c] *Four Masters.* [d] Alexander MacDonnell's arrival seems to have been in 1566, and his departure in 1567.

The MS. goes on to say—"He (MacDonnell) was soon taken prisoner by one of the O'Neills, and not set at liberty till he had solemnly promised to join him against the Lord-Deputy Sydney, then commanding the English army in Ulster. MacDonnell, on his enlargement, also engaged to bring over more Highlanders from Scotland. But, in the meantime, Edward MacQuillin invited him to spend the winter at Dunluce Castle, and to quarter the Highland soldiers up and down among his tenants till spring; and MacDonnell gladly accepted the hospitable offer."

All the keen policy, and all the polite suavity of the young Scottish chieftain were insufficient to remove the suspicions of MacQuillin's sons, that this knight of the golden spurs was preparing to play a deeper game than the Lord of Dunluce apprehended. Whilst MacDonnell proved the impossibility of putting to sleep all the jealous fears of the young MacQuillins, another medium through which to obtain a more substantial footing in Dalriada presented itself. MacQuillin's daughter did not participate in her brothers' feelings towards Colonel MacDonnell, but regarded him with a confidence and admiration that he was not slow in discerning. He won the young lady's affections, and then urged a clandestine marriage to prevent her brothers from interposing. The daughter of MacQuillin and her father's guest were accordingly married unknown to her family.

In the meantime the O'Neill, who had obliged MacDonnell to promise to join him against the Lord-Deputy, had received a mortifying defeat from the O'Donnells, and he now wrote urging for the Scots to come to him without delay. A further reinforcement soon arrived in Cushendun Bay, where Colonel MacDonnell joined them, and established a camp.[e] O'Neill hastened to commune with the Scots, in the course of which some altercation arose, and the MacDonnells slew him on the spot. The northern chieftains called a council to decide on the measures to be taken. The unanimous decision of that council was, that the MacDonnells and their adherents should be totally banished from Ulster. The wife of Colonel MacDonnell, on finding what had been resolved, hastened to the camp at Cushendun, and informed her husband. "A night or two after," continues our manuscript, "the whole party, MacDonnell, his wife, and all the Highlanders, sailed off to the Island of Raghery, and from thence to Argyleshire, in Scotland. In the summer of 1569, MacDonnell and a large party of his countrymen, thoroughly armed for war, again landed in Ireland. On this occasion they encamped at the Convent of Bun-a-Mairge, near the town of Ballycastle. There he was attacked, on the 4th of July, by young Edward MacQuillin: for his father—being then old, and perhaps unwilling to fight against his son-in-law, MacDonnell—did not go to oppose him. However, young Edward MacQuillin and his two brothers, Roderick and Charles, the only three sons of old Edward, attacked him in his camp, and were repulsed with the loss of Roderick, second in command, and obliged to retreat. In a day or two MacDonnell became the assailant, and attacked the MacQuillins, near the river Glenshesk: here the loss of life was dreadful, but again MacDonnell won the battle, and among the slain was another of the three brothers, Charles MacQuillin. Young Edward MacQuillin, with the

[e] See *Annals of Four Masters*, 1567.

residue of his army, then retreated towards the river Aura, and was joined by Shane O'Dennis O'Neill, of Clanaboy, and by Hugh MacPhelemy O'Neill, of Tyrone. The latter being regarded as an experienced general, and MacQuillin being but a young man, to him was entrusted the command of the whole.

"MacDonnell also being reinforced, was determined to give battle; and, marching to the music of four Highland pipers, he attacked the united forces of O'Neill and MacQuillin. In this third battle the Scotch were defeated, and had to lament the loss of two of their best officers, and many of the Highland soldiers. O'Neill had been expecting further reinforcements, and had these arrived he might have followed up his victory. But two of his men, whom he had chastised for misconduct that morning, betrayed him. One of them, a piper, named O'Cane, immediately deserted to the enemy, and represented to MacDonnell the advantage of attacking the Irish army before the arrival of the other troops; and to delay them, he proposed to go as from O'Neill, with a message to the commander, for the reinforcement not to move forward, as MacDonnell was already defeated. O'Cane's proposal was carried out: O'Neill's supplies were prevented from joining him; whilst Hugh MacAulay of the Glinns had been induced treacherously to desert MacQuillin, and with a strong party of his men, to go over to MacDonnell."

The details of the battle which ensued, with all its horrors and disasters, we shall not transcribe. The sum total is that, near Gilgorm Castle (or, as our MS. says it should be, *Gealgorm* Castle,) on the 13th of July, 1569, MacDonnell's army routed the forces of those Ulster chiefs who had united with the MacQuillins: and, before night, both O'Neill and young Edward MacQuillin were among the dead. The latter swam to an island in a neighbouring lake after the battle, but being perceived by some of MacDonnell's soldiers, he was followed and murdered. Thus, in the course of nine days, were the three sons of the lord of Dunluce cut off in that desperate struggle to drive out a foreign intruder from a region which had been in possession of their ancestors for twelve hundred years.

Edward, the eldest of the three MacQuillin brothers, had been married, and left an infant son named Roderick Oge MacQuillin. In four years after the death of the brothers, Alexander MacDonnell and his family were received by old Edward MacQuillin as free denizens in Dunluce Castle. That year (1573) he, as being son-in-law to the old lord, was elected 'tanist,' and from thence forward, till his death, was regarded as the chosen heir of the MacQuillin estates. He was killed in single combat with an English officer, whom he had challenged to decide, in that way, a battle which was pending between their two forces. The annals say:—"In 1586, Alexander, the son of Sorley Buidhe, son of Alexander, son of John Cathanach, the son of MacDonnell of Scotland, who was brother of Inghean Dubh ["the dark haired daughter"], the wife of O'Donnell, the mother of Hugh Roe, was slain by Captain Merryman, and by Hugh, son of the Dean O'Gallagher, in the month of May precisely." He left two sons, James and Randall: the age of the latter seems to have pretty nearly corresponded with that of Roderick Oge MacQuillin, the other grandson of

Edward MacQuillin. Sorley Buidhe MacDonnell, father to Alexander, died in 1590, just four years after his son; and James MacDonnell, Alexander's eldest son, died in 1601, four years before his maternal grandfather.

In the time of Queen Elizabeth, the MacQuillin name was represented by Edward MacQuillin, then about a hundred years old; by his grandson, Roderick Oge MacQuillin; and by Roderick's son Richard. Roderick seems to have been regarded, after the death of his uncle, Alexander MacDonnell, as the elected 'tanist,' and, according to the English usage, he was the lineal heir of the ancestral estates of Dalriada. It does not appear that Sorley or any other of the MacDonnells of the sixteenth century ever succeeded in excluding, or that they even attempted to exclude the MacQuillins from the Castle of Dunluce, as alluded to in Mr. Hill's paper *(Ulster Journal, ante)*. It is true, however, that whilst Sorley Boy's son, Alexander, from 1573 to 1586, lived in Dunluce Castle with his father-in-law as tanist, he took on himself the active duties of that position, which, as the old lord was nearly blind for many years, probably included the real, though not the nominal lordship; and, after Alexander's death, his sons doubtless regarded Dunluce as a family home, just as the other grand-children of Edward MacQuillin did.

The treaty of peace with the great Earls of Tyrone and Tirconnell, concluded by Queen Elizabeth, which left them in possession of their estates, caused bitter disappointment among the English officers who had been looking towards a division of the confiscated property of those indomitable chieftains as their main reward. When King James came to the throne, his first Irish difficulty was how to get hold of sufficient land in Ireland to divide among the numerous candidates, so as to keep down discontented murmuring. For, besides those parties who had served in the Irish armies of the late Queen, he had his own personal favourites on whom he wished to bestow princely gifts. In that emergency the royal advisers pointed to the seizure and dismemberment of Dalriada, as a politic step. With the cunning of an unprincipled mind, James, whilst approving the idea of the unjust seizure, felt that he ought to secure the interest of one of the grandsons of MacQuillin; and that, to ensure success and gratitude, it should be he whose chance of inheritance was likely otherwise to fall through. Randal MacDonnell was his man, and he appears unscrupulously to have united in the royal scheme of disinheriting the MacQuillins altogether. After giving to him the lion's share, the King subdivided and distributed the residue of his grandfather's estates among English and Scotch expectants, Chichesters, Skeffingtons, Seymours, Conways, and other favourites. Thus it was that Sir Randal, "during the very first year of James's reign in England, received a plenary grant of the Route and Glynns, a territory extending from Larne to Colcraine, and comprising about *three hundred and fifty-four thousand acres* statute measure. These vast estates included the present parishes of Coleraine, Ballyaghran, Ballywillen, Ballyrashane, Dunluce, Kildollagh, Ballintoy, Billy, Derrykeighan, Loughgill, Ballymoney, Kilraghts, Finvoy, Rasharkin, Dunaghy, Ramoan, Armoy, Culfeightrin, Layd, Ardclinis, Tickmacrevan, Templecoughter, Solar, Carncastle, Killyglen,

Kilwaughter, and Larne, together with the Granges of Layd, Innispollan, and Drumtullagh, and the Island of Rathlin. The Antrim property, as originally granted to Randal MacDonnell, thus comprised seven baronies—viz., North-East Liberties of Coleraine, Lower Dunluce, Upper Dunluce, Kilconway, Carey, Lower Glenarm, and Upper Glenarm." The writer whom we quote adds:—"The lord of these broad lands, therefore, may well be described as a fortunate man, when it is remembered that not only had he done nothing to earn this magnificent grant from the English Government, but he had actually spent his youth in open and formidable rebellion."[f] Yet the rightful lord of all these "broad lands," the aged MacQuillin, thus unjustly and cruelly disinherited, had never taken part in any rebellion against the English Government.

Edward MacQuillin heard with dismay of the division and bestowal, by King James, of his paternal inheritance, whilst he and such of his descendants as bore the MacQuillin name were to be left without an acre of all their ancestral lands. For several years he had been quite blind; but unexpectedly the sight of the aged sufferer returned, and for the sake of his grandson, he then resolved to go to the English monarch in person, and plead for a remission of the tyrannical sentence. James was touched by the appearance and appeal of the venerable patriarch, and promised to do what he could in furnishing Roderick with a handsome estate. This visit to the English metropolis seems to have been but a short time before old Edward MacQuillin's decease. He died in 1605, aged 102 years; and in 1608, after the rebellion and death of Sir Cahir O'Dogherty, when the property of that rash young chieftain was confiscated, King James commissioned Sir John Chichester to inform MacQuillin that Innishowen, the property in question, should be transferred to him. His disappointment and mortification were great when Rory Oge MacQuillin received this intelligence as the consummation of the royal promise. To enter on possession of the O'Dogherty's estates in Innishowen was repulsive to his sense of honour and nationality; and Sir John Chichester, seeing how he felt, offered to give him, in exchange, Clanaghartic, a section of the Dalriadan lands that had been assigned to himself. The offer was gladly accepted; for, though in real value the latter was far inferior to the former, yet, as MacQuillin's scruples would not suffer him to accept the O'Dogherty territory, we cannot blame the Englishman for making the proposal. Thus it was that the great barony of Innishowen came into possession of the Marquis of Donegall's family. In about ten years after that occurrence, another overturning took place, in the course of carrying out the plans of King James for the 'Plantation' of Ulster, which deprived the MacQuillins of all estated property.

The exchange between Chichester and MacQuillin had been ratified by the King's securing, by letters patent, to the former Innishowen, and to the latter Clanaghartic. D'Alton says, that the territory thus granted in 1608 to the heir of that disinherited family (the MacQuillins), and "situated in Clandeboy, County of Antrim, comprised, as stated in the patent, twenty-one extensive townlands, with all hereditaments, advowsons, &c., of churches formerly belonging to any religious houses therein;

[f] Gleanings in Family History from the Antrim coast (*Ulster Journal, ante*).

the MacQuillin being bound to find and maintain, every year, for the space of forty days, two able horsemen, and six footmen, to serve the King, Lord-Deputy, or Governor of Carrickfergus, whenever required within the province of Ulster, and to answer all risings out and general hostings."[g] We have not been able to discover whether MacQuillin failed in fulfilling any of the above stipulations, or on what other pretence the letters patent for the holding of Clanaghartie were recalled; but in 1619, as further stated by D'Alton, the King issued a Royal Letter, demanding the surrender of the territory from the patentee. The heir of the MacQuillin name was accordingly left landless, and one of the Chichester family (Sir John being then dead) received back the estate of Clanaghartie. However, on that occasion Sir Arthur Chichester gave a sum of money (the amount is not specified) to Roderick Oge MacQuillin, in consideration of the benefit that had accrued to his family through MacQuillin's loss. These are, as far as we can ascertain, the historical facts of the case which is so jocosely narrated in the manuscript in possession of the Earl of Antrim's family, as given in the concluding paragraph cited by the Rev. William Hamilton, and quoted in a note to Mr. Hill's article, as follows:—"The estate he (MacQuillin) got in exchange for the barony of Innishowen was called *Clanreaghurkie*, which was far inadequate to support the old hospitality of the MacQuillins. Rory Oge MacQuillin sold this land to one of Chichester's relations; and, having got his new granted estate into one bag, was very generous and hospitable as long as the bag lasted. And thus was the worthy MacQuillin soon extinguished." Not so entirely extinguished, however, as the writer seems to suppose.

The MacQuillin papers complain that Randall MacDonnell regarded his less favoured cousin with feelings of vengeful antipathy. However, it is pretty certain there would be bad feeling on both sides in such circumstances as theirs. They also tell of an occasion when Colonel Hill, the ancestor of the Downshire family, only escaped with his life from the wrath of MacDonnell, by hiding along with Roderick and Richard MacQuillin (father and son), in a cave in Island Magee. The Earls of Hillsborough are spoken of as continuing to be the kind and cordial friends of the MacQuillins for several generations. Richard MacQuillin settled at Banbridge, and subsequent events prove that he and his descendants, during the seventeenth century, maintained an honourable, if not an aristocratic standing, though bereft of their ancestral estates and commanding position. The war of 1698 and its consequences again scattered the MacQuillins, and finally left in Ireland, during the eighteenth century, but one representative family of the house of MacQuillin, and that family resided near Lurgan. Of the two sons it contained in 1790, and who continued to transmit the name, one removed to America, the other to the Province of Leinster, ultimately settling in County Wexford. The family records in possession of the County Wexford branch furnish some interesting details of those vicissitudes.

[g] *King James's Irish Army List*, p. 655.

Charles, son of the above-mentioned Richard MacQuillin, with his two youngest sons, appear to have been the first of the name who embraced the Protestant religion. The elder children of Charles MacQuillin took a decided stand on the opposite side. His eldest daughter, Mary, previous to King James's war, went under Romish patronage to Spain, where she was introduced at court, and became one of the maids of honour to the Queen. She spent the remainder of her days at the Spanish court, and, at her death, left some property, which she bequeathed to her Irish relatives. Her two elder brothers, who kept aloof from the religion their father had adopted, espoused King James's cause. They were in Limerick during the siege, and finally determined to follow the King to France. When in the very act of taking leave of their brother officers, one of them was killed by a shot from the besiegers. The other, James Ross MacQuillin, went to France, and served with distinguished valour in the Irish Brigade. He left only one son, Louis MacQuillin, and he dying childless some time previous to 1765, left all his property, which is said to have been very large, to the nearest of kin of his father's relatives, the MacQuillins of Ireland. Richard MacQuillin, one of the two youngest sons of Charles MacQuillin, who became Protestants, had a son, Ephraim, who was then sole heir to the property thus bequeathed by his cousin Louis. Previous to that event, Ephraim MacQuillin had married a lady whose name was Hoope, and who belonged to one of the most wealthy families at that time in the Society of Friends, in the North of Ireland. He had entered into business, and was doing well, as a linen merchant, near Lurgan, when the intelligence of his French relative's bequest reached him. He then gave up his business and went to France. Some parties belonging to the Jesuits' College in Marseilles having been left trustees to the property, he repaired thither with official documents and family papers, to prove his identity and the legitimacy of his claim. When he presented himself and his papers, the latter were all taken for examination. But soon after he was made a prisoner and informed that they discovered he had merely come to France as a spy; he was afterwards liberated, and then told if he did not immediately depart he would be put in the Bastille. In vain he asked for his papers,[h] in vain he offered further assurance or explanation. Nothing further would be listened to, and no papers returned. With a heavy heart he departed, but had only just got clear of the place when he was assaulted by two men, who robbed him and left him for dead on the road. Our MS. does not say that the latter outrage was sanctioned or ordered by the parties who had previously arrested him. It does not appear, from the insensible state he was left in, that Ephraim MacQuillin could ascertain anything about that. The surprise is that he succeeded afterwards in ever getting home; but he did at length reach home, broken down in health, in spirits, and in property; having, as he himself afterwards said, in giving up his business, thrown good money after bad, and lost both.

[h] Among the papers thus retained was the Family Genealogy of the MacQuillins, which, says the MS., "was as long as the third chapter in Luke."

Ephraim MacQuillin, as we have said, had two sons, one of whom went to America. Edward, who remained in Ireland, was married into a Quaker family in Dublin (the Pims), and moved southward. It was this Edward MacQuillin who drew up the family history which has supplied many of our facts. But the full ancient genealogy of the MacQuillins was lost for ever in that wild-goose chase among the Jesuits, and no attempt seems to have been since made to restore the 'missing links.' Edward MacQuillin merely supplied that part of the ancestral chain which extended backwards from himself to the beginning of the sixteenth century. Edward MacQuillin's son Joseph died in 1856, and *his* son Joseph, the present senior representative of the MacQuillin name, is a gentleman farmer, and a highly respected member of the Society of Friends. Joseph MacQuillin, of Great Clonard, County of Wexford, has sons, the eldest of whom is Edward MacQuillin.

The late Joseph MacQuillin, born ..	1792
Was son of Edward MacQuillin, born ..	1760
Son of Ephraim, ...	1726
Son of Richard, ...	1670
Son of Charles, ...	1630
Son of Richard, ...	1594
Son of Roderick Oge, ...	1567
Son of young Edward, ...	1535
Son of old Edward, ...	1503
Son of Roderick,[i]	
Son of Walter MacQuillin.	

It was Edward MacQuillin, the second on the above list, who arranged the scattered facts that are embodied in the family MS. to which we have so frequently alluded. He still clung to the hope of a time coming when the property left by his cousin in France would be restored to him or his heirs. Such a hope being entertained at all, after the first fruitless attempt, indicated but a slender knowledge of the French Jesuits, its trustees. And quite as wild would be the idea that any claim by a MacQuillin on the Antrim property, after 260 years' possession by the MacDonnells, would be either just or tenable. Two hundred years' possession for giving the right of inheritance is as good as two thousand.[k] It must be remembered, too, that Randall MacDonnell, the first Earl of Antrim, was grandson to the last MacQuillin, Lord of Dunluce.

As to the general division and subdivision of the Ulster principalities, Tyrone, Tirconnell, and Dalriada, it was manifestly necessary for the prosperity of the country at large. Those great properties, especially the two former, were too extensive for being rightly managed by individual

[i] We are not quite certain whether the above Roderick was father or brother to his successor, Edward.

[k] At page 652 of D'Alton's work on King James's Army List, there is an extract from Edward MacQuillin's manuscript, which concludes with some expression of the writer's strong feeling on that point.

proprietors. They belonged to a by-gone age of tributary princes, each of whom governed his own principality. The times required a proprietorship, the chief aim and organization of which had reference to the thorough cultivation of the land. King James's plantation scheme is often alluded to as being devised to effect this great object; and doubtless it brought things nearer to that point: but in its fundamental steps towards dismemberment and reduction of estates, it was not guided by a spirit of justice; on the contrary, private right was utterly disregarded in the case of the MacQuillins. And the Royal requisition to entail all the new properties, in order to prevent any of the native Roman Catholic proprietors from regaining, in after ages, by purchase or otherwise, possessions that had belonged to their forefathers, was both unwise and cruel. The entail law of Ireland which was thus introduced to Ulster has proved, in conjunction with the law of primogeniture, with which it was associated, not only an obstruction to the highest development of national prosperity, but by intermarriages and heirship, their tendency is, again to raise up huge properties centred in one individual: except, indeed, where the Incumbered Estates Act latterly opens the way for another dismemberment in an equitable form, not as the 17th century one was effected. If the laws of entail and primogeniture, which did not originally belong to Ireland, had never been introduced, we might have looked rejoicingly on the abolition of the laws of tanistry and the Royal elections which preceded them. But these innovations having been to serve an unjust and tyrannical purpose, we cannot feel more respect for the motives than for the measures which they represented.

The local impress of the name MacUillin.—The derivations from this name (or what appears as such) which present themselves in various forms in the old Irish annals in the designation of places and their inhabitants within the bounds of ancient Ulidia (Counties Down and Antrim) suggest the thought of a common origin between the names Ulladh and Uillin, especially when we observe that the former was occasionally written Ullin. The Latinized name Ulidia and the Anglicised Ulster must be regarded as exotic derivations from the native name. The MacQuillins, without any reference to that point, insist that their family principality anciently included Dalaraidhe, as well as Dalriada, which is exactly the ancient Ulladh or Ullin. From these and other indications, it appears to us probable that not only the family name, but the name of the principality they governed, was derived from Fiacha MacUillin. But as to who that Fiacha MacUillin was, we can find no certain proof, except the statements of the MacQuillins themselves, and Dr. Keating's testimony. We have searched in vain in Irish annals for any historical recognition of the settlement of Fiacha, son to Niall of the Nine Hostages, in the North. The MacQuillin papers alone, so far as we have been able to discover, develop this event. And if they had maintained that Fiacha MacUillin was of the Dal Fiatach tribe, descended from Fiatach the Fair, who was King of Ulster in the second century, we could more easily see its harmony with the ordinary statements respecting Dalaraidhe in the early ages. But they do not say that, nor anything like it. On the contrary, they allude to the Fiatachians as a race more

anciently settled in the principality than Fiacha MacUillin. Nor do they exactly say that it was by warlike conquest that the MacQuillins' great ancestor obtained a settlement in the North: the idea conveyed is, that it *may have been by influence*, rather than arms, that he became provincial king of the region in question, and that his descendants continued to be elected to that position throughout the succeeding centuries up to the period when English arms compelled them to retire to Dalriada. Perhaps the Annals of Tighearnach contain allusions, if not direct evidence, that would tend to enlighten the subject. We have no opportunity of consulting either them or the Annals of Ulster;—if they who have were to take the trouble of a careful examination, they might probably dissipate the obscurity.

Our MS. says that *MacUillin* signifies 'darling son,' and that the name was conferred by Niall on Fiacha, his youngest child, and the only son of his second and favourite queen. Although Q does not belong to the name in the original, (there being no such letter in the Irish alphabet,) it is probable that the U does not exactly convey the native sound of the word, as it is sometimes spelled Mag Coillin, but more usually Uillin or Cuillin. The MS. also states that Fiacha MacUillin was first settled in West Meath, and that his name remains located there, in the parish of Ballymacquillin, in the region now designated King's County. It seems that he got possession of Dalaraidhe, some time after his two elder brothers, Owen and Connel, were settled in the government of Tir Owen and Tir Connell; the Fiatachians, and the descendants of Ir or Clanna Rory, who were the original possessors, remaining as the occupying inhabitants of Ulster, whilst Fiacha's descendants were its princes. MacUillin, most probably, came into use as a surname in the eleventh century, after Brian Boru issued the national requisition which introduced the custom of surnames to Ireland. Of course it was the reigning family of Ulidia (they who occupied Rath Mor Mag Uillin) who adopted that surname. But in this we merely reason from analogy and probability.

In Keating's Genealogy of the O'Neills, he says, "From Fiacha, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, sprang O'Mulloy, O'Maolmhuadh, Mageoghagan, the MacCuillins, and O'Huiginns." As Keating is a first-rate authority in family pedigree, we may take his statement as conclusive, so far as it goes, that the MacUillins are descended from Fiacha, son of Niall the Great. But on the question of when or how they became kings of the Ulidia, he throws no light. It is true, however, that he brings out their name as distinguishing the spot which is recognised by others as that of the palace of the Ulidian kings. He records a great battle which was fought in the year 685, in Ulidia, "at Moigh Cuillin," in repelling an invasion from the King of Wales. Other Irish writers speak of that battle as having been fought at Rath Mor Magh Line, thus showing the identity between Moigh Cuillin and Rath Mor Magh-line. Ultimately the name was resolved into Moylinne, a manor of the County Antrim. In the annotations which are given in Connellan's Translation of the Four Masters, it is mentioned thus:—"Rath Mor of Moylinne, was a residence of the kings of Dalaradia,

or Ulidia. It is situated near Lough Neagh, in the present parish of Antrim, or Donegore, and the place is still known as the Manor of Moylinny." After an existence of eleven hundred years, the royal habitations on the Rath were burned to the ground in 1513. "O'Neill, *i.e.*, Art, the son of Hugh, marched with a force into Trian Conguill, and burned Moylinny (in Antrim), and plundered the Glynns; the son of Niall, son of Con Mac Quillin, overtook a party of the forces and slew Hugh, the son of O'Neill, on that occasion. On the following day the force and their pursuers met in an encounter, in which MacQuillin—namely, Richard, the son of Roderick—with a number of the Albanians, were slain."[l] After that destruction of the habitations on Rath Mor Mag Uillin, the Castle of Dunlucc became the chief residence of the MacQuillins, and the deserted Rath Mor was never re-edified. Many important national events are associated with that region. An explanation of its present features, and of such ruins, if there be any, of the celebrated Rath Mor Mag Uillin, should furnish materials for an interesting archeological paper.[m]

In the Annals of the Four Masters, at an earlier date than the age of Fiacha MacUillin, Rath Mor Magh Line is mentioned in a way that specifies very carefully its location, and may seem at first glance to cast a doubt over the statement of Fiacha, son of Niall, being its founder. It is introduced in connection with the battle which was fought in the second century between the forces of the supreme king, Tuathal, and those of the Irians of Ulster, in which the monarch was slain. That battle-field was called Mòin-an-Chatha, or "the Bog of the Battle," and the adjacent hill on which Tuathal fell, was named the Ceann Gubha, or "the Hill of Grief."[n] The chronicle of these events stand thus in O'Donovan's translation of the Four masters:—"A.D. 106. Tuathal Teachtmhar, after having been thirty years in the sovereignty of Ireland, was slain by Niall, son of Rochraidhe, King of Ulster, in Magh Line, at Mòin-an-Chatha, in Dal-araidhe, where the two rivers, Ollar and Ollarbha, spring; Ceanngubha is the name of the hill on which he was killed, as this quatrain proves:—

"Ollar and Ollarbha,
Cean-gubha lordly, noble,
Are not names given without a cause
The day that Tuathal was killed."

We have said that the mention, in the above chronicle, of Magh Line may seem at first glance to argue against Fiacha, son of Niall, who lived two centuries later than Tuathal, being its founder. But this difficulty disappears when we remember that a historian, in describing a spot where any memorable event occurred, is liable to use the name given to the locality in his own day instead of

[l] Annals of the Four Masters, A.D. 1513.

[m] Rath Mor MacUillin, signifying *Great Rath of Mac-Quillin*, is the name which our MS. says was the original designation of the spot where stood the ancient palace of the Ulster kings. It was often written Rath Mor Magh Line, again Moig Cuillin, and now Moylinny.

[n] See Annotations on Connellan's translation of the Four Masters.

the more ancient one. In the very paragraph we have quoted there is another instance of this which is incontrovertible. The places particularized are said to have been in *Dal-araidhe*, yet Dal-araidhe had not obtained that name for upwards of a century after the death of Tuathal. And if we presume that it was *Dalriada*, which should have been used in the paragraph in question, the example still holds; for Cairbre Riada, from whom the latter took its name, was son to Conaire, who was the fifth sovereign of Ireland, after Tuathal, and did not ascend the throne for upwards of fifty years after Tuathal's death. The region alluded to, therefore, could not have been designated by either name till long after the event detailed.

Castles, Monasteries,—Bun-na-Mairge.—The MacQuillin manuscript says that the Dalriadian princes erected various castles on insulated rocks along the Antrim coast, but stoutly withstands the insinuation about the English having ever raised any of those castles. Indeed we can find no authority whatever for supposing they did; nothing but conjecture, without any proof, and that conjecture has not even probability to rest on. It would have been madness, under the state of feeling that existed towards England, to have built them, and then to have handed them over to the native chieftains, who, as far as we can ascertain, independently occupied all those coast castles, except that of Carrickfergus, till the beginning of the seventeenth century. It is true some of those strongholds were attacked during the previous century, and temporarily taken possession of, but never retained by any Englishman till the time of "the plantation of Ulster." Those who have urged the improbability of the Irish princes having erected such substantial stone castles, whilst their own palaces were merely of oak, and the habitations of the people still more frail wooden structures, seem utterly oblivious of the excellent masonry displayed in the round-towers and the early Christian Churches, which no one pretends to claim as Norman (or English) erections.

The Irish long adhered to wooden dwelling-houses in preference to any other, but where great durability and strength were the main objects, from time immemorial they used stone.

The first mention we find, by the Four Masters, of Dunluce Castle is in 1513, when, after the burning of the palace of Magh Line, the chieftain MacQuillin removed to that sea-girt abode which had been previously occupied by the family of Gerald MacQuillin, probably brother to Walter MacQuillin. Dunseveric was also one of the MacQuillin strongholds. But of its origin and name there are ample indications in the early annals. Long before the Christian era, according to the Four Masters, we have the following chronicle:—"A.M. 3668. The first year of the joint reign of Sobhairce (Severic) and Cearmna Finn, the two sons of Ebric, son of Emher, son of Ir, son of Milidh (Milesius), over Ireland; and they divided it between them into two parts. Sobhairce resided in the north at Dun-Sobhairce,[o] and Cearmna in the south at Dun-Cearmna.[p] These were the first kings of Ireland of the race of Ir." Some centuries later, but still anterior to the Christian

[o] Dunseveric, County Antrim. [p] Fort on Old Head of Kinsale, County Cork.

era, we have another notice of Dunseveric, in connection with the death of one of the monarchs of Ireland: "After Roitheachtaigh had been seven years in the sovereignty of Ireland, lightning burned him at Dun-Sobhairce (Dunseveric). It was by this Roithcachtaigh, that chariots of four horses were first used in Ireland." In the fifth century after the Christian era, Dunseveric is recorded as having been the resting-place where St. Patrick was hospitably entertained. In the Abbé MacGeoghegan's History of Ireland, it is thus noticed :—"St. Patrick having completed his mission in the districts bordering on Lake Foyle, crossed the river Bann to Cuilrathen, at present Coleraine. He preached the Gospel for some time in the territory of Lea, on the right bank of the river Bann. He then proceeded through the country of Dalriada, now Route, in the County of Antrim, to the Castle of Dunsobhearche, in the northern part of that country."

Kenbane Castle, or the 'castle of the white promontory,' near to Ballycastle, is another of these old picturesque remains located amid the rocky acclivities of that bold coast. And not far distant, again, are the ruins of Red Bay Castle, said, but we know not on what authority, to have at one time belonged to the Bissetts. All these castles, and the beautiful glens and glades of that region, are mementos of great interest to the student of ancient Irish history.

The Bissetts, according to the MacQuillin manuscript, first gained a footing in Ireland by one of the MacQuillin lords giving them lands on which to erect, and with which to endow, a monastery in the year 1465. Robert Bissett was a Scotchman who had been connected with the murder of the Duke of Athol, and hence obliged to fly from his native land. The MacQuillin not only gave him an asylum, but when, as expiation for his crime, according to Romish usage, he resolved to build a monastery, the lord of Dalriada also furnished him with the necessary land. On that land Bissett built the monastery of Glenarm. On the general suppression of monasteries in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, this monastic property was granted in legal form, by the Queen's letter patent, to Alexander MacDonnell. And, as our MS. observes, it was the first spot of all Dalriada that was thus bestowed away irrespective of the consent, and beyond the control of, the MacQuillins.

Our manuscript also states that the abbey of Buna-Mairgie was built in the latter end of the fifteenth century, by Charles, son of Donald MacQuillin, whose sister or niece, Thula Dubh Na Uillin[q] became its mother abbess. It was she who was called in English, Julia, the black nun. It appears from this that "dark Julia" lived in the latter part of the fifteenth and early in the sixteenth century, (not in the seventeenth century, as Mr. Hill infers). Accordingly, when she got the credit of visiting the castle halls of Randall MacDonnell, her visits must have been in ghostly guise; as we are bound to deduce from our dates that she was dead before the earl Randall was born. The lady Thula is represented in the MacQuillin papers as a very devout and devoted mother abbess, but one who in her early days partook too much of that austerity which spurns those who cannot receive as right all

[q] We are also told in the MS. that Na Uillin is the feminine of MacQuillin, and that the name was liable to that change in the case of females.

that it prescribes. A nun in the convent gave her so much trouble, that at length she declared her presence was so intolerable that she would no longer sleep under the same roof. The offender was accordingly expelled. But it afterwards happened that this poor sister, weak and ill, on a cold winter night, came to the gate of Buna-Mairge and asked for shelter. Dark Julia, the abbess, with all her austerity could not find in her heart to refuse the suppliant: the erring one, in that extremity, was admitted, and allowed temporarily to occupy a bed in one of the cells. But the inflexible lady, Thula, would not suffer herself to sleep that night. She paraded the halls of the monastery, walked out in the open air, and went through her devotions under the canopy of heaven, declining not only to sleep but to worship beneath the same roof that sheltered one whom she regarded as so great a heretic. However, before morning dawned, her ear was arrested by sounds of prayer and praise that issued from the cell of the contemned sister. Dark Julia entered and heard with astonishment the words of the dying girl, which spoke of joy and thanksgiving to her Redeemer in view of her approaching dissolution, and the confidence she felt of a transition from the trials of earth to blessedness in heaven. After that event, it is said, that the mother abbess became more charitable towards others who could not see exactly as she saw, and more humble. Her tomb, still visible in the door-way of the now deserted Buna-Mairge, over which every comer has trod for the last three hundred years, may have been one of the evidences by which she chose to impress that lesson of humility and Christian charity on all the sisterhood of the convent.

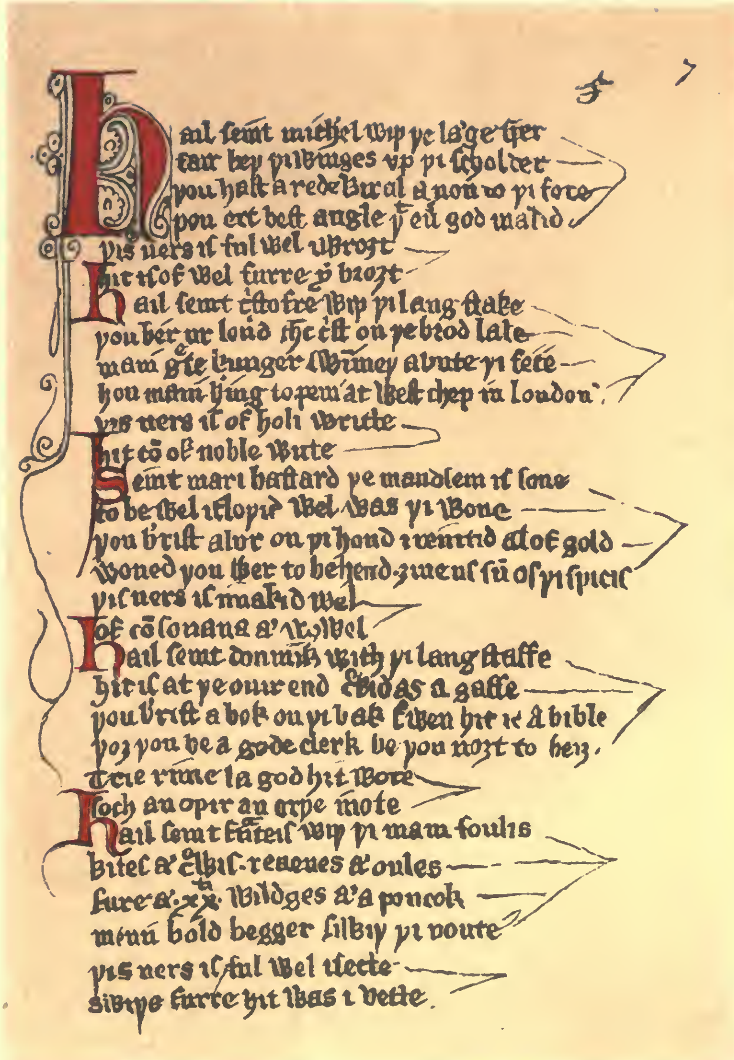
M. Webb.

Dublin.

EARLY ANGLO-IRISH POETRY.

The accompanying lithograph is a fac-simile representation of the first five verses of the following poem, as contained in a page of the Harleian MS. numbered 913. Sir Frederic Madden describes this volume as "highly curious, written at the commencement of the fourteenth century, containing a miscellaneous collection of pieces in verse and prose, apparently the production of an Irish ecclesiastic, and chiefly of a satirical description. Most of these pieces are in English or Latin; and there is great reason to conclude that they are from the pen of Friar Michael Kyldare, who is expressly named as the author of a ballad (fol. 10), and is erroneously assigned by Ritson, in his *Bibliographia Poetica*, to the fifteenth, instead of the beginning of the preceding century."

The late Mr. Crofton Croker, in his *Popular Songs of Ireland*, gives a fuller account of this volume, which I cannot do better than transcribe. He says:—"An attempt to trace its history may not be unsatisfactory. That a friar named Michael, of Kildare, was the writer, is not only tolerably certain from the passage alluded to by Sir Frederic Madden, which is the closing verse of a religious song, viz.:—


Hail seint michel wiþ þe lange sper
fair beþ þi wingës vp þi scholder
þou hast a rede kirtel anon to þi fote
þou ert best angle þat euer god makid
þis uers is ful wel iwroȝt
hit is of wel furre ibroȝt
Hail seint cristofre wiþ þi lang stake
þou ber ure lord iesu crist on þe brod lake
mani grete kunger swimeþ abute þi fete
hou mani hering to þe peni at west chep in london
þis uers is of holi writte
hit com of noble witte
Seint mari bastard þe maudlen is sone
to be wel icloþid wel was þi wone
þou berist a box on þi hond ipeintid al of gold
woned þou were to be hend ȝeue us sum of þi spicis
þis uers is makid wel
of consonans and wowel
Hail seint dominik with þi lang staffe
hit is at þe ouir end crokid as a gaffe
þou berist a bok on þi bak ich wen hit is a bible
þoȝ þou be a gode clerk be þou noȝt to heiȝ
trie rime la god hit wote
Loke an oþir an oþe mote
Hail seint franceis wiþ þi mani foulis
kites and crowis reuenes and oules
fure and twenti wildges and a poucok
mani bold begger siwiþ þi route
þis uers is ful wel isette
siþþe furre hit was ifette.

FAC-SIMILE FROM AN ANGLO-IRISH MANUSCRIPT

This sang wrozt a frere,
Ihesu Crist be is socure,
Loverd bring him to the tour,
Frere Michel Kyldare;

but from a satire in Latin, at p. 26 vo, which commences 'Ego Michael Bernardi.' The MS. consists of 64 leaves of vellum, 12mo. size, and is written in a good hand, and embellished with initial letters in colours. On folio 25, a paragraph commences, 'Anno domini m°. ccc°. viij. xx^a. die Feb.,' which is the identical year when the song on the death of Sir Piers de Birmingham, printed by Ritson in his *Collection of Ancient Songs*, from this MS., appears to have been composed.[a] From this coincidence, the year 1308 may be fairly assigned as the date of this MS. Various notices respecting it, at different periods, enable us to trace its history with some degree of accuracy. On the suppression or dissolution of the monastery in which the volume had been preserved, it came into the possession of a George Wyse, as is evident from the following entry, in the writing of Elizabeth's time, on the back of the second folio:—

Iste Liber pertinet ad
me Georgiü Wyse.

"The comparison of the autograph of George Wyse, who was bailiff of Waterford in 1566, and Mayor of that city in 1571, which is extant in the State Paper Office, leaves little doubt as to the identity of this individual. The Wyse family, it may be observed, were distinguished for their literary taste. Stanihurst, speaking of them remarks that, 'of this surname, there flourished sundrie learned gentlemen.' 'There liveth,' he adds, 'one Wise, in Waterford, that maketh [verse?] verie well in the English;' and he particularly mentions 'Andrew Wise, a toward youth, and a good versifyer.' To the same family were granted various ecclesiastical possessions in Ireland. Sir William Wyse, the ancestor of the late member for Waterford, and possibly the father of the above-mentioned George, had a grant of the abbey of St. John, near that city, 15th November, 1536.

"However this MS. may have come into the hands of a member of the Wyse family, it seems to have continued, if not in their possession, at least in the same locality; for, in the reign of James I., it is noticed as *The Book of Ross and Waterford:* see No. 418 of the Lansdowne MSS., a collection made by Sir James Ware, which contains transcripts of several pieces from it, where the following note occurs upon the copy of a song already mentioned respecting the death of Sir Piers de Birmingham:—'*Out of a small olde book in parchm^t, called the Book of Rosse or Waterford*, Feb. 1608.'"

A notice of this volume next appears in the *Catalogus Manuscriptorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ.*

[a] Sith Gabriel gan grete
Ure ledi Mari swete
That God wold in her lizte,
A thousand zer hit isse
Thre hundred ful i risse
And over zeris eizte.

1697; and its subsequent history is of little interest till it came to the Harleian collection, in a very "tattered condition."—The only poems in it that have any direct reference to Ireland, besides the song on the death of Sir Piers de Birmingham, are the Anglo-Norman ballad on the entrenchment of New Ross, published by Sir Frederic Madden in the *Archæologia*, also by Mr. Croker, in his *Popular Songs of Ireland;* and the following satirical lyric. It is written in a dialect which Warton, in his *History of English Poetry*, terms "Norman-Saxon, a language barbarous, irregular, and intractable; and consequently affording no striking specimens in any species of composition." Its basis was the Anglo-Saxon, a language perspicuous, strong, and harmonious, sufficiently polished by poets and theologists; till adulterated by the Norman-French, which was a confused jargon of Teutonic, Gaulish, and a vitiated Latin; and thus was formed the Norman-Saxon, the rude foundation of our modern English. But this poem is a peculiarly curious specimen of that rude dialect, as it contains, at least, one Irish word, and there are some decidedly Irish turns of thought expressed in it.

The satire is general; still, the mention of a lake seems to confine it to one particular place The word lake, however, was at that time applied to a river, sea, pond, or almost any collection of water. From the allusions to certain religious houses, it is most probable that the place the author had more particularly in view was the city of Kildare. Those best acquainted with the ancient state of Ireland, will be surprised to see so many different trades mentioned as flourishing in that country at the beginning of the fourteenth century. But it must be recollected that Kildare was part of the territory acquired by Earl Strongbow, through his marriage with Eva, daughter of Dermot, chief of Leinster; and, being near Dublin, was early colonised; and the city itself was, in all probability, the first inland one in Ireland that acquired the advantages of Anglo-Norman civilization. In the original the piece has no title, so I may just term it—

A SATIRICAL POEM.

Hail, seint Michel with the lange sper,
Fair beth thi winges up thi scholder,
Thou hast a rede kirtil anon to thi fote,[b]
Thou erst best angle[c] that ever God makid.
This vers is full well i-wrozt,
Hit is of wel furre y-brozt.[d]

[b] It is evident that the author refers to the pictures of the various saints he mentions, as they were then, and indeed even now are, represented.

[c] Angel.

[d] These two lines may be rendered thus:—
"This verse is full well wrought:
So far, it is well brought."

Hail, seint Cristofre with thi lang stake,
Thou ber ur loverd Jhesu Crist over the brod lake;
Mani grete kunger[e] swimmeth abute thi fete,
Hou mani hering to peni at West Chep in London.[f]
This vers is of holi writte;
Hit com of noble witte.

Seint Mari bastard, the Maudleinis sone,
To be wel i-clothid wel was thi wone;[g]
Thou berist a box on thi hond i-peintid al of gold,[h]
Woned thou wer to be hend,[i] zive us sum of thi spicis.
This vers is makid wel,
Of consonans and vowel.

Hail, seint Domnik with thy long staffe,
Hit is at the ovir end[k] crokid as a gaffe:[l]
Thou berist a bok on thi bak, ic wen[m] hit is a bible;[n]
Thoz thou be a gode clerk, be thou nozt to heiz.[o]
Trie[p] rime la God hit wote.
Soch an othir an erthe I note.[q]

[e] Conger eels.

[f] St. Christopher, in accordance with the legend respecting him, is pictorially represented as wading through a sheet of water, steadying his footsteps with a long stake, and bearing the infant Saviour on his shoulders, numerous congers and other fish swimming about his legs and feet. Being the general patron saint of sailors, fishermen, and fishmongers, there is as much pertinence as impertinence in the author's question—How many herrings are sold for a penny at West Cheap, in London?

[g] Wont, *i.e.* custom; the line may be rendered thus—
"To be well dressed, truly, was thy wont."

[h] Mrs. Jameson, in her *Sacred and Legendary Art*, tells us that Mary Magdalen is frequently represented as attired with the utmost magnificence. In a painting in the Cathedral of Orvieto, "she wears a magnificent tunic, embroidered with gold, over it a flowing mantle, descending to her feet; she holds the vase with her left hand, and points to it with her right. If it were not for the saintly aureole encircling her head, this figure and others similar to it might be mistaken for Pandora."

[i] *Hend:*—Anglo-Saxon, signifying "courteous, generous."

[k] Upper end.

[l] An allusion to the crozier.

[m] I ween.

[n] St. Dominick is represented carrying a book, but not a Bible, as the satirist no doubt very well knew. The legend of this book is, that when the saint unsuccessfully attempted to convert the Albigenses, he drew up a short exposition of faith, and with this in hand, undertook to dispute against their leaders. Finding them, however, deaf to his arguments, he three times threw his book into a large fire, and thrice it leaped uninjured back from the flames, into his hands. But when the Albigenses tried this feat with their Bible, the book obstinately remained in the fire, and was consumed to ashes.

[o] High.—The line signifies, "Though thou be a good clerk, thou be not too high in general estimation."

[p] *Trie:*—Norman-French, choice, excellent, the original of the modern French *tres*.

[q] *I note:*—A contraction of "I ne wote," *i.e.*, I know not. These two lines may be rendered—
"Choice rhyme as God it knows,
Such other on earth I know not."

Hail, seint Franceis with thi mani foulis,
Kites and crowis, revenes and oules,
Fure and xx^ti wildges and a poucock;[r]
Mani bold begger siwith[s] thi route.[t]
This vers is ful wel i-sette,
Swithe furre hit was i vette.[u]

Hail be ze, freris, with the white copis,[v]
Ze habbith a hus at Drochda war men makith ropis;
Ever ze beth rilend the londes al a-boute,[w]
Of the watir daissers[x] ze robbith the churchis.
Maister he was swithe Gode,
That this sentente understode.

Hail be ze, gilmins,[y] with zur blake gunis,
Ze levith the wildirnis and fillith the tunis,
Menur[z] with-oute and prechur[a] with-inne,
Zur abite is of gadering, that is mochil schame.
Sleilich[b] is this vers i-seid,
Hit wer harme adun i-leiid.

[r] St. Francis of Assis is said to have acquired the language of birds, and to have frequently preached to them. He is depicted in hagiological art in the act of preaching to immense and attentive congregations of all varieties of the feathered race.

[s] *Siwith*:—Anglo-Saxon, travelleth.

[t] *Route*:—Norman-French, road, direction. The Franciscans, founded by St. Francis, were, as is well known, mendicant friars; and the author, in this line, seems to say to the saint, "many bold beggars follow the course you pointed out."

[u] *Vette*:—Anglo-Saxon, sweet, as applied to sound, the song of birds. The two lines may be read—

"This verse is full well set,
So far it is sweet."

[v] The Dominicans wore white capes and black nether garments. Hence, when they were painted as dogs of the Lord (Domini canes) worrying heretical wolves, they are coloured white and black. Their house at Drogheda, alluded to in the text, was founded in 1224.

[w] "Ever ye be travelling about the country."

[x] *Daisser*, in Norman-French, signified an assessment. Probably the Dominicans constantly travelling about the country forestalled the clergy of the parish churches in collecting certain dues for holy water. This interpretation, however, is very doubtful.

[y] Gilbertines, an order of monks founded by St. Gilbert of Sempringham, in Lincolnshire, about the middle of the twelfth century. They wore black gowns, as described in the text. As both the monks and nuns of this Order lived together in the same convent, very curious stories are told of them, and they were constant butts for the not very refined wit of the other Orders.

[z] Minorite, a Franciscan.

[a] Preacher, a Dominican, as much as to say—"beggars without and preachers at home, you are as bad as both put together."

[b] Slily. I read these two lines thus:—

"Slily is this verse said,
It were harm done if I lied."

Hail, ze holi monkes, with zur corrin[c]
Late and rathe[d] i-fillid of ale and wine,
Depe cun ze bouse, that is al zure care,
With seint Benetis scurge lome[e] ze disciplineth.
Taketh hed al to me,
That this is sleche[f] ze mow[g] wel se.

Hail be ze, nonnes of seint Mari house,
Goddes bourmaidnes[h] and his owen spouse,
Ofte mistredith ze zur schone, zur fete beth ful tendre,
Datheit[k] the sotter that tawith zure lethir.
Swith wel ze understode,
That makid this ditee so gode.

Hail be ze, prestis, with zur brode bokes,
Thoz zur crune be i-schave, fair beth zur crokes;[l]
Zow and other lewidmen deleth bot a houve,[m]
Whan ze delith holi-brede, zive me botte a litil.
Sickirlich[n] he was a clerk,
That wrothete this craftilich werk.

[c] This is certainly the Irish *Corn*, a small drinking-cup, or horn. See *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. viii., p. 106.

[d] *Rathe*:—Anglo-Saxon, early.

[e] *Lome*, frequently. The line then reads—"With St. Bennet's scourge, frequently ye discipline yourselves." One of the emblems with which St. Benedict is painted is "a pitcher or a broken glass or cup, containing wine." Taking this into consideration with the rest of the verse, it is easily seen that the scourge of St. Benedict satirically implied "a big drink."

[f] Sly.

[g] May.

[h] Chambermaidens: "bower" is frequently used in old songs and romances for a lady's apartment; compare *boudoir*.

[i] The nuns alluded to were probably bare-footed Carmelites, of which Order there was a nunnery in Kildare; and the words 'mistredith ye your shoes,' might imply that they regretted leaving off the use of such useful coverings for the feet.

[k] *Datheit*.—This word is to me of unknown derivation. It occurs twice in the *Romance of Sir Tristrem*; and Sir Walter Scott (no authority whatever in a question of this kind) interpreted it by "a wish of ill luck." Taking it in this sense, the line would read thus:—
"Bad luck to the shoemaker that softeneth your leather."
The allusion may be equivocal; and I would rather pass over this verse lightly, as I did the previous one in which Mary Magdalen is mentioned.

[l] *Crokes*.—Norman-French. The little tufts of hair left at the sides and back of a clergyman's head after the crown was shaved. It would seem, from several allusions in old writers, that the more dandified of the clergy used to carefully cultivate those ornaments. The line reads:—
"Though your crowns be shaven, fair be your crocks."

[m] *Houve*:—Anglo-Saxon, care, anxiety. I fancy that the meaning of this and the following line is—"You and other lewd men deal or give nought but anxiety; when ye deal spiritual comfort, ye give but a little."

[n] Certainly.

Hail be ze, marchans, with zur gret packes,
Of draperie, avoir-de-peise, and zur wol sackes,
Gold, silver, stones, riche markes, and pundes;
Litil zive ze thereof to the wrech pover.[o]
Sleiz he was and ful of witte,
That this lore put in writte.

Hail be ze, tailurs, with zur scharpe schores,[p]
To make wronge hodes ze kittith lome[q] gores;[r]
Azens midwinter hote beth zur neldes,[s]
Thoz zur semes semith fair, hi lestith litil while.
The clerk that this baston[t] wrouzte,
Wel he woke and slepe rizte nouzte.[u]

Hail be ze, sutters,[v] with zour mani lestis,[w]
With zur blote[x] hides of selcuth[y] bestis,
And trobles[z] and treisules,[a] bothevampe[b] and alles;[c]
Blak and lothlich[d] beth zur teth, hori[e] was that route.[f]
Nis[g] this bastum[h] wel i-pizte,[i]
Each word him sitte a-rizte.

[o] Poor.

[p] Shears.

[q] See note, *e*.

[r] Triangular pieces of cloth. The line reads thus:—

"To make wrong (unfair) hoods ye often cut gores."

[s] Needles:—

"Preparing for mid-winter, hot be your needles."

[t] *Baston*:—Norman-French, a staff or stanza of a song. We use the word *stave* in a similar sense.

[u] This line exactly accords with our modern acceptation of the slang phrase, "wide-a-wake."

[v] Shoemakers:—The word *souter* is still well known in Scotland.

[w] Lasts.

[x] *Blote*, to dry by smoke, from whence we have the word *bloater* applied to a smoked herring. *Blotan*, however, in Saxon, meant to slaughter; and November was called Blot Monath, or slaughtering month, because cattle were then killed for winter provisions. As the meat was preserved chiefly by smoke, the word in time lost its original signification, and was applied to the act of smoking instead of slaughtering. I presume the author here meant hides of cattle, killed in the Blot month, and not hides preserved by smoke, as we shall be introduced to the tanners directly.

[y] *Selcuth*, a Saxon compound, from *seld*, seldom, and *couth*, known. I believe the word is still used in Scotland to express anything strange.

[z] *Trobles*:—I can give no satisfactory interpretation of this word.

[a] *Treisules*, probably the three-legged stools on which shoemakers sit when at work.

[b] Boot-vamp? *Vamp* still means to patch.

[c] Awls.

[d] Loathsome.

[e] *Horig*, Anglo-Saxon, dirty, filthy.

[f] *Route*, Anglo-Saxon, a rabble.

[g] Is not.

[h] See previous note on this word.

[i] *I-pizte*, Anglo-Saxon, pitched

Hail be ze, skinners, with zure drenche kive,[k]
Who so smillith[l] ther to, wo is him alive;
Whan that hit thonnerith, ze mote ther in[m]—
Datheit[n] zur curteisie, ze stinketh al the strete.
Worth hit wer that he wer king,
That ditid[o] this trie thing.

Hail be ze potters, with zour bole-ax,[p]
Fair beth zur barmhatres[q] zolow[r] beth zur fax;[s]
Ze stondith at the sthamil,[t] brod ferlich bernes;[u]
Fleiis[v] zow folowithe, ze swolowith y-now.
The best clark of al this tun,[w]
Craftfullich makid this bastun.

Hail be ze, bakers, with zur lovis[x] smale,
Of white bred and of blake, full many and fale,[y]
Ze pincheth on the rizt, white[z] azen Goddes law,[a]
To the fair pillori ich rede ze tak hede.[b]
This vers is i-wrouzte so welle
That no tung i-wis mai telle.

[k] The vessel or place in which skins were drenched or soaked,—in short, what we now term a tan-pit.

[l] Smelleth.

[m] I am compelled to leave out a word here. Tan-yards are not the most odoriferous places at the present time; in our author's days, of less refinement and little sanitary knowledge, they must have been much worse.

[n] See previous note on this word.

[o] I fancy the author attempts a pun here, the play being on *dite*, as a contraction of indite, and *dightan*, an Anglo-Saxon verb, signifying, to make clean.

[p] Probably borax, which, from its vitrifying properties, was formerly used to form the glaze on earthenware vessels.

[q] A curious compound word, meaning "aprons," derived from the Saxon *barm*, the fore part of the body, and the Norman-French *hatir*, attire. In the *Manuel de Peche* of Robert de Brunne, we may read—

"Befyl hyt so, upon a day,
That pore men sat yn the way,
And spred her *hatren* on her *barme*,
Agens the sonne that was warme."

[r] Yellow.

[s] Hair.

[t] *Stammel*, in old English, means "red," but does not appear to have any connection with the word here. *Brod* signifies a board, a brood, or the vessel wherein alms are collected at churches. I can give no satisfactory explanation of these words.

[u] *Ferlich bernes*, frightful children. I must acknowledge that I can make nothing of this line.

[v] *Fleiis*.—This is another doubtful word. Should it mean fleas, the line would almost correspond with our modern expression, you are eaten up with fleas. But I have seen flesh spoiled in the same way.

[w] Town.

[x] Loaves.

[y] Probably "false," in allusion to the weight in the next line.

[z] Weight.

[a] God's law.

[b] I warn you to beware of the pillory.

Hail be ze brewesters,[c] with zur galuns,
Potels and quarters, over al the tounes;
Zur thowmes* berith moch awai, schame hab the gyle[d]
Beth i-war of the coking-stole,[e] the lak[f] is dep and hori.[g]
Sickerlich he was a clerk,
That so sleilich wrozte this werk.

Hail be ze, hokesters,[h] dun bi the lake,
With candles and golokes[i] and the potts blak,
Tripis and kine fete and schepen hevedes;
With the hori: tromcheri,[k] hori is zure inne.
He is sori of his lif,
That is fast to such a wif.

Fi a debles kaites[l] that kemith the wolle,[m]
Al the schindes[n] of the toun a heiz upon zur sculle,
Ze makid me such a goshorne over al the wowes,
Ther-for ich makid on of zou sit upon a hechil.[o]
He was noble clerk and gode,
That this dep lore understode.

Makith glad, mi frendis, ze sittith to long stille;
Spekith now, and gladieth and drinketh al zur fille;
Ze habbeth i-hird of men lif that wonith[p] in lond;
Drinkith dep, and maketh glade, ne hab ze non other nede.
This song is y-seid of me,
Ever i-blessid mote ye be! Explycyt.

[c] Brewers.

* *Thumbs*, meaning that when the brewers filled the pots, they kept their thumbs inside, thus reducing the quantity, by saving as much liquor as their thumbs displaced.

[d] Deceit.

[e] Cucking-stool.

[f] Lake.

[g] See previous note.

[h] Hucksters.

[i] Can this be the Irish *galog*, and signify "budgets"?

[k] Probably tromcheir.

[l] *Skite*, a word of contempt, signifying a low fellow. Maggie Lauder called the piper a "bletherin skite." The meaning in the text is "devils' skites," contemptible fellows, children of the devil.

[m] That combeth the wool:—the wool-combers.

[n] Sins.—The line implies, "all the sins of the town be upon your heads."

[o] A Hackle.—This line and the one preceding it seem to relate to some personal difference between the author and the wool-combers.

[p] Dwelleth.

It is evident that the preceding poem was intended to be recited or sung at convivial parties, from the words of the last verse, which may be thus paraphrased:—Enjoy yourselves, my friends; you have sat too long silent [listening to my song]; speak out now, crack your jokes, and drink your fill; you have just heard how some men live that dwell in the land; drink deep, and be merry, you have nothing else to do at present.

A person unacquainted with the literature and ecclesiastical history of the period, might justly wonder at a monk[q] like Michael writing so satirically upon saints and the monastic orders. But the fact is, that the standing jokes of the time were founded on the misdeeds and misadventures of saints, monks, nuns, and friars. The most sacred subjects, the highest objects of men's worship and adoration, were not exempted from being introduced into the songs, mysteries, and smutty allegorical romances of the era. The great cause of this profanity was the bitter feuds and jealousies that prevailed among the monastic orders, each charging the others with the most hideous and revolting crimes. This subject, however, is not fitted for the pages of this *Journal;* but I may add that, in the very volume from which I have taken the preceding poem, there are pieces of a most licentious, and—as described in the Harleian catalogue—blasphemous description. Yet, like a true picture of the period in which it was written, the volume also contains some choice gems of simple and refined piety. One of these latter, the following little poem, though quaint and antique in style and diction, is probably the earliest and best Lullaby in the English language. I add a modern version of it, expressing the sentiments of the original, with the alteration of a very few words:—

A LULLABY.

Lollai, lollai, litil child, whi wepistou so sore?
Nedis mostou wepe, hit was i-zarkid[a] the zore,
Ever to lib in sorow, and sich[b] and mourne evere,
As thin eldren did er this, whil a-lives were.
Lollai, litil child, child, lolai, lullow,
In to uncuth world i-commen so ertow.

Bestis and thos foules, the fisses in the flode,
And euch schef[c] a-lives, makid of bone and blode,

[q] The words *Ego Michael Bernardi*, previously quoted in the text, shows that our author was a Bernardine monk, closely allied to the Cistercians, the bitterest enemies of the Mendicant Orders.

[a] The Anglo-Saxon *zeara* means "before time, of old," and the word in the text signifies "pre-ordained,"—

"But endless bliss or ay to brene,
To every man is zarked zare."
—Ritson *Ancient Songs*.

[b] Sigh.

[c] Sheep

Whan hi commeth to the world, hi doth ham silf sum gode,
Al bot the wreeh brol[d] that is of Adamis blode.
Lollai, lollai, litil child, to kar ertou be-mette,
Thou nost nozt this worldis wild bi-for the is i-sette.

Child, if be-tidith that thou ssalt thrive and the,[e]
Theneh thou wer i-fostred up thi moder kne;
Ever hab mind in thi hert of thos thinges thre,
Whan thou commist, what thou art, and what ssal com of the.
Lollai, lollai, litil child, child, lollai, lollai,
With sorow thou com into this world, with sorow ssalt wend awai.

Ne tristou to this world, hit is thi ful vo;
The rich he makith pooer, the pore rich also;
Hit turneth wo to wel, and ek wel to wo;
Ne trist no man to this world, whil hit turnith so.
Lollai, lollai, litil child, thi fote is in the whele,
Thou nost whoder turne to wo other wele.

Child, thou ert a pilgrim in wikidnis i-bor,
Thou wandrest in this fals world, thou lok the bifor;
Deth ssal com with a blast ute of a wel dim horre,
Adamis kin dun to cast, him silf hath i-do be-for.
Lollai, lollai, litil child, so wo the wrozt Adam,
In the lond of Paradis, throz wikidnes of Satan.

Child thou nert a pilgrim, bot an uneuthe gist,
Thi dawes beth i-told, thi jurneis beth i-cast;
Whoder thou salt wend, north, other est,
Deth the sal be-tide, with bitter bale in brest.
Lollai, lollai, litil child, this wo Adam the wrozt,
Whan he of the appil ete, and Eve hit him betacht.[f]

[d] Brat, child.
"And eke a beggar's *brol* on the book lerne."
—*Piers Ploughman.*

[e] Thrive and grow up. "So mote I the," signifying "so may I thrive," is a common affirmation in old poetry.

[f] *Betahte.*—Anglo-Saxon, taught, imparted, delivered.

(Modern Version.)

Lollai, lollai, little child, why weepest thou so sore?
Needs must thou weep, it was ordained thee of yore,
Ever to live in sorrow, and sigh and mourn in care,
As thine elders did ere this, while they alive were.
Lollai, little child, child lollai, lullow.
Into a strange world, surely, come art thou.

Beasts and the fowls, the fishes in the flood,
And each sheep alive, made of bone and blood,
When they come into the world it is for their good,
All but the wretched babe that is of Adam's blood.
Lollai, lollai, little child, to care art thou decreed,
Thou little knowest the wild world before thee that is spread.

Child, if it betideth, thou shalt thrive to man's degree;
Remember thou wert fostered upon thy mother's knee;
And ever cherish, in mind and heart, those things three—
Whence thou camest, what thou art, and what shall come of thee.
Lollai, lollai, little child, lollai, lollai,
With sorrow thou camest into this world, with sorrow shalt wend away.

Never trust thou to this world, it is thy fellest foe;
The rich it maketh poor, the poor maketh rich also;
It turneth woe to weal, then changeth weal to woe;
Trust to no man in this world, while it turneth so.
Lollai, lollai, little child, thy foot is on the wheel,
Thou knowest not how it may turn, to woe or unto weal.

Child, thou art a pilgrim, born in sin and wickedness;
Look before thee, whilst in this false world thou wanderest,
For Death shall come with sudden blast, in a dim, dark hour.
Adam's kindred to down cast, as he was cast before.
Lollai, lollai, little child, such woe to thee wrought Adam,
In the land of Paradise, through the wickedness of Satan.

Child, thou art not a pilgrim, but an unwelcome guest;
Thy very days are numbered, thy journeys are forecast;
Wherever thou mayst wend, to north, to east, or west,
Death thee shall betide, with bitter misery in breast.
Lollai, lollai, little child, this woe thee Adam wrought,
When he of the apple ate, as he by Eve was taught.

WILLIAM PINKERTON.

THE ROUND TOWER CONTROVERSY:—THE BELFRY THEORY EXAMINED.

By RICHARD BOLT BRASH, Architect.

Having in a former paper[a] endeavoured to show that we have no historical evidence as to the original uses and era of the round towers of Ireland, and that the word *Cloch-teach*, used in various passages of the native annals, cannot refer to them, I will now proceed to consider the question of their date and use, as discussed by Dr. Petrie.[b]

That zealous and learned antiquary ascribes these structures to a period ranging from the fifth to the thirteenth century, and their erection to the Irish Christian converts; firstly, for belfries; secondly, as monastic keeps, or places of refuge in troublous times, and for preserving the Church plate, relics, and other valuables possessed by their infant and struggling Church; and, thirdly, as watch-towers. Upon the latter use, however, he does not much insist for want of sufficient evidence.

On the belfry question, however, he takes a positive position, and brings to bear upon it a vast amount of learned research, and patient ingenuity. I would remark, in the first place, that the very early period admitted for the existence of these towers is forced upon the Christian theorist by the remarkably ancient character of those hoary structures, particularly one class of them, which, amidst all the reparations and mutilations they have undergone, still present to the archæological critic the type of an architecture which has no parallel in that of any known Christian people, but has a perfect and startling accordance with the Pagan arts of design and construction, as still exemplified in monuments of ascertained antiquity all over the world. This branch of the subject is most interesting, but of so extensive a nature that the scope of my present paper will not allow me to enter on it. It is, however, my intention to devote a special article to the consideration of this important phase of the question.

That the Irish converts erected belfries, in the fifth and succeeding centuries, is improbable, and is likewise opposed to the testimony of architectural history, and to the negative evidence of our native annals. *Belfries* must, evidently, have followed the introduction of *bells* into Christian worship and uses: I say belfries, meaning high structures specially raised to hang large bells in; for it is an admitted fact, that the custom of erecting lofty symmetrical buildings, ornamental, monumental, or commemorative, whether in the shape of obelisks, solid columns, or hollow pillars roofed in, is of unknown antiquity. Our present business, however, is with ecclesiastical towers, erected specially for the purpose of suspending large sonorous bells in, to call the neighbouring community to the public worship of the sanctuary. The date of the introduction of bells into

[a] *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. vii., p. 155. [b] Petrie's *Origin and Uses of the Round Towers of Ireland.*

Christian solemnities is involved in much obscurity. Bells were used by the Etrurians, Egyptians, and Romans. The bells upon the bridles of horses, also upon the garments of the high priest, are mentioned in Scripture, and various substitutes for them are alluded to by ancient writers. Pliny states that bells attached to chains were suspended from point to point of the pyramids that composed the mausoleum of Porsenna, King of Etruria. Fosbroke (vol. i., p. 229) mentions that they were used in the mysteries of the Cabiri, the Corybantes, and Bacchus, and that they were worn on the tunics of the Bacchantes, as a melodious accompaniment in dancing. They were carried in funeral processions to warn the Flamen of Jupiter lest he should contract any impurity by hearing the funeral flutes. The bells of a Priapus, at Portici, were of bronze, wrought over with silver. Suetonius states that Augustus Cæsar suspended a fringe of bells round the eaves of the Temple of Jupiter Tonans. Hart, in his *Ecclesiastical Records* (p. 245), mentions that, before the introduction of bells, the faithful were summoned to public worship by the sound of a table of wood, brass, or iron, struck like a gong: nor was the use of this totally discontinued for some centuries after, as such instruments are mentioned in Lanfrane's *Monastic Institutes*, written after the Norman Conquest. In the Greek Church a hollow table of sonorous wood was used for the same purpose: when smartly struck with a hammer, it emitted a sharp ringing sound. Such an instrument is employed in the Armenian churches to this day.

The first mention of ecclesiastical bells is about the year 400. We are informed that Paulinus, a bishop of Nola, in Campania, introduced them into Christian worship; this introduction must exclusively refer to the altar services, as previous to this, we have no mention of bells used in the solemnities of the Christian church; the simplicity of the apostolical doctrine and worship having probably yielded by degrees to the influence of the more pompous ceremonial of the pagan ritual. The *tintinnabula*, subsequently introduced by Pope Leo I., about 458, were so small that six or eight of them were hung to one wheel. Early in the seventh century we have an ordinance of Pope Sabinian, enacting that the canonical hours should be marked by the ringing of bells. The custom and use of hanging a number of small bells to a wheel, as above mentioned, is illustrated by a quotation from Du Cange, *v. Rota*, in Fosbroke, vol. i., p. 98, mentioning that a wheel was fixed to the wall near the altar, on which were hung a number of bells, and which was whirled around at the elevation of the Host. There is no doubt that bells were used in the liturgical services of the Roman Church long before they were exalted in towers to summon hearers to public worship. It is more than probable that the first employed for this purpose were large-sized hand-bells, rung at the church-door, or from the external galleries that were common in the *façades* of Lombardic churches in Italy for several centuries. It is also extremely probable that the earliest belfries were of wood, framed and fixed in proximity to the churches. Thus, Gregory of Tours affirms that Leo, his predecessor, was an artist of great skill, particularly in works of carpentry; and that he erected towers, which he covered with gilt bronze, and some of which lasted until his time.

Whittington, in his *Historical Essay on Gothic Architecture* (p. 22), states, on the authority of Felibien, (*Arch.* iii. 159, iv. 232,) that Dagobert completed the tower of Strasburg Cathedral A.D. 643, which was principally composed of wood. So late as 1145 a wooden bell-tower, covered with lead, was erected at the Cathedral of Chartres, which was in existence in 1506, when it was burned by lightning. [Note to Whittington's *Essay*, p. 182.]

As from Rome emanated all ecclesiastical forms and ceremonies, and as the introduction of bells into Christian worship is undeniably due to her, so we must naturally look to Italy for the first examples of belfries or bell-towers. The first bell-tower recorded to have been erected in Italy was that added to old St. Peter's, at Rome, by Pope Stephen III., between A.D. 752 and 757. See Hope's *Architecture of Italy*, (vol. i., p. 276,) who quotes, as his authority, Anastatius Bibliothecarius. Knight, in his *Architecture of Italy*, (p. 28,) says, "that bells were not used in connection with churches until after the time of Paul I. Adrian I., who was elected in 772, erected the first belfry; it was of a character very similar to that represented in the engraving annexed, *and became the model after which most of the ancient belfries of Rome were designed.*"[c] The characteristics of these ancient Roman belfries,—many of which remain to this day,—are thus given by Hope (vol. i. p. 277): "At Rome also the towers are all square, but with the stories marked by different cornices or string courses, the divisions between offering a certain number of small arches, with or without columns clustered together, with perhaps a canopy or tribune for a Madonna near the top; and medallions of porphyry, serpentine, or other marbles, inserted in the brick surface." See also the Architectural Publication Society's volume for 1848-9, article "Campanile," (p. 3). The dates of some of these square Roman brick towers are well ascertained. S. Giorgio, in Velabro, was erected by Pope Zacharias, A.D. 745 to 752; S^ta^ Maria, in Cosmedin, 760 to 780; S. Giovanni Laterano, 750. The oldest of the square towers of San Ambrogio, Milan, was erected in 850; the second in 1143; the tower of San Zeno, Verona, in 1145; the leaning tower of Bologna, in 1116; that of Pisa, in 1174. The foundation of the square tower in the Piazza, at Venice, was laid in 889.

Speaking of the Venetian towers, Hope says (vol. i., p. 277):—"At Venice, again, all the steeples are square, and without distinct external string-courses, but divided on each side into two or three panels, running uninterruptedly from their base to their top, crowned by a small square or octagon belfry." Again:—"The towers of the north of Italy are also square, more marked by vertical pannelling; the string-courses, usually flat, are very secondary features; the arcades are not perforated to the same depth; and the cushion capital is not found." [Architectural Publication Society's vol. for 1848-9, article "Campanile," page 3.]

There is another class of church-towers in Italy to which the advocates of the Christian origin of the Irish Round Towers have turned for help to sustain their cause. I allude to the circular towers of Ravenna: these structures are of undoubted antiquity, but not more so than the

[c] The Italics are mine.

brick towers at Rome, which they exactly resemble in every thing except their circular form. Hope (vol. i., p. 277) thus describes the Ravennese towers:—"Cylindrical, *and like a tube of equal diameter from top to bottom*, and all articulated, or showing external string courses, marking every higher internal floor, some of these stories offering single round-arched windows, others clusters of two or three; low roofs cover the tops." The clustered windows are divided by small slender columns, having the cushion capital, which feature is general in all Roman brick towers. It is not to be supposed, however, that all the church-towers of Ravenna are circular; there are several square towers, exactly similar to the Roman ones, and having details identical with the circular ones. A list of these towers is given in the *Builder* (London, 1849, pp. 243-4), where the writer, treating on the strong resemblance and identity of construction and detail between the Ravennese and Roman towers, remarks, that the windows in the towers, square and round, are almost all similar, in the peculiar deeply recessed columns and small arches above, to the Roman brick ones. There are very few strings, and these few are formed merely of bricks laid angle-wise between two rows of bricks, almost flush with the face; they have no dentils. The crowning cornices are in a similar style, but larger and bolder. The columns have sometimes slightly carved capitals, in the Norman style.

Stairs were carried up in these towers; in the square ones they ran from angle to angle, between two thicknesses of walling; in the circular ones the steps wound round a newel, like the turret-stairs of castles and ordinary church-towers. The author of the article "Campanile," in the publication before alluded to, thus, in general terms, describes the early structures of this class:—"We find that the early 'Campanili' were simple towers, perforated by semi-circular arched openings, carried on columns or piers, not very artistically arranged, arising abruptly from the ground, without base or plinth mouldings, undiminished to the summit, and divided by numerous string-courses into stories of nearly equal height."

I have been thus minute in describing these ancient towers from reliable and trustworthy sources, in order to show that there is no resemblance whatsoever between the circular towers of Ravenna and the Hiberno-Celtic, except their circular form. What other points are there in common between those stair-cased, many-floored, and many-windowed structures, with their columned dressings, their brick ornamented string-courses and cornices, and the tall, slender, tapering, exquisitely proportioned, yet massive, masonried tower of Ireland, with its stone-lintelled Cyclopean doorway, its few and diminutive window opes, usually square or angular headed, its four attic windows facing accurately the cardinal points, and its overlaid stone roof?

The date of the erection of the Ravennese towers has not been fixed. Their architectural details would take them as far back as the eighth, or as late as the tenth, century; but it is not by any means probable that they are earlier than the eighth, from the fact that church-bells had not come into general use at an earlier period, and that at Rome, where we should naturally look for the earliest

introduction of all ecclesiastical adjuncts, bell-towers were not erected before the middle of the eighth century. I would once for all quote the opinion of one who had carefully and laboriously investigated the subject of Italian ecclesiastical architecture:[d] speaking of the Roman basilicas erected at the first great development of Christianity he says:—"The only universal addition in Rome to the former sacred structures was after steeples had begun to spring up in the seventh and eighth centuries, that of one of these appendages to each of the old churches." Yet with all these facts and weight of testimony staring us in the face, we are called upon to believe that the Irish erected ecclesiastical bell towers in the fifth, sixth, and succeeding centuries.

That bell-towers originated in Italy, is beyond all manner of doubt; we can trace their progress into Northern Italy, into Southern France, and Germany, where the Italian type of tower is plentiful to this day: nay, the influence of that original form was felt through Christian Europe; and, even in Britain, the so called Saxon towers, such as Earl's Barton, Sompting, Brixworth, &c., in their square form, vertical pannelling, coupled windows, with columns or baluster shafts, and the cushion capital, point unmistakeably to the original Italian type of bell-tower. I shall not here pursue this branch of the subject any further. It is quite sufficient for me to establish, as I hope I have done, that we have no authentic record of the erection anywhere of lofty stone or brick towers, specially for the reception of ecclesiastical bells, before the eighth century; nor have we any reasonable grounds for supposing that such were in use previous to that date.

The ages generally assigned to the oldest remaining towers in France and Germany, and to those in England usually called Saxon, is consistent with the date given for the introduction of bells and bell-towers in Italy, allowing a reasonable period to elapse for the gradual introduction of this new feature in ecclesiastical architecture, and taking into account the difficulties of communication then existing, the dislike of innovation, and the troubled state of Christendom in those remote and semi-barbarous ages.

I shall here leave my readers to conjecture, if they can, how the Christian Irish came to have bell-towers in the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries.

In order to give some colour to this early erection of towers in Ireland, Dr. Petrie has attempted to establish the use of bells in this country at a very early period: his authorities are monkish legends, and Lives of Saints of the most apocryphal character, whose statements, as the truthful and erudite Lanigan has shown, if not entirely unworthy of credit, must, at least, be very unsafe upon matters of fact. Various passages from these legends are quoted by that learned gentleman, such as, that St. Patrick, who came to Ireland A.D. 452, abundantly distributed bells; that he had a bell-ringer, one Sinell, who rung the bell in the Cloigteach; that he had three artificers, named Asicus, Biteus, and Tassach, who fabricated such utensils with admirable art; that one Dageus was a famous bell-founder in the sixth century, and that he not only fabricated

[d] Hope's *Historical Essay.*

"bells, croziers, crosses, &c., but also shrines; and that though some of these implements were without ornament, others were covered with gold, silver and precious stones, in an ingenious and admirable manner." How unlikely all this is to be true must be apparent from the following considerations:—The early Irish missionaries were poor, zealous, fervent, simple in manners, plain in attire, rigid in morals; they brought with them neither silver, gold, nor precious stones; their language was that of the apostles of old to the blind man at the beautiful gate of the temple, "Silver and gold we have none, but such as we have give we unto you." They came to preach the Gospel of peace to a nation of idolaters, and the weapons of their warfare were not carnal but spiritual.

I have already stated that the introduction of bell-towers into Ireland, at the period or periods mentioned by Dr. Petrie, is contrary to the negative evidence of our native Annals, to which source he entirely appeals. Now, admitting for argument's sake, that the word *clochteach* signifies a bell-house, how comes it that a belfry is not mentioned under this appellation before A.D. 950, the earliest notice or mention of the term that Dr. Petrie has been able to produce? We have various terms for churches, and various parts and classes of ecclesiastical structures, specially and repeatedly mentioned, centuries previous to that date, but not one word about a *clochteach*. The natural inference is, that no belfries existed; that such appendages to churches were not in use, for if they were, surely such lofty imposing and important structures would not have been passed over in silence, when *Duirthechs* (oak churches or oratories), *Erdams* (porches), and *Cucines* (kitchens) are specially referred to.

It is highly improbable that the early Christians in this country would erect such a lofty imposing and enduring structure as a Round Tower, for the mere purpose of hanging a bell in it. Various writers have been struck with the very diminutive size of the ancient Irish churches, particularly those erected before the thirteenth century. Any person who has visited Scattery, Iniscaltra, Clonmacnoise, Glendalough, &c., cannot fail to be struck with the humble size and pretensions of the ancient churches which at present exist in proximity to the Round Towers in those localities. A reference to the sizes of some of those structures will illustrate my argument.

The stone-roofed church of St. Molua, at Killaloe, which was the ancient cathedral of the diocese, and not older than the tenth or eleventh century, erected at the seat of regal authority, and under the auspices of a powerful toparch, is but 29 feet in length and 17 feet in width, a very humble unornamented structure.

The principal of the churches at Inniscaltra, and which was erected by King Brian Boroimhe, towards the latter end of the tenth century, is but 30 feet by 20, exclusive of a small chancel subsequently added: the more ancient churches are of much smaller dimensions.

Teampull Fineen, at Clonmacnoise, which is at present connected with the Round Tower called *Clogaus beg*, is but 28 feet 10 inches in length, and 14 feet 6 inches in width, not including a small chancel. Several of the churches at Clonmacnoise are still smaller.

The above-cited examples were churches of some consideration in their day; but the fact is, that the majority of the churches whose antiquity approaches that of the Round Towers are of much smaller dimensions, of mean aspect, and in very many instances of inferior workmanship to the Round Towers themselves,—in fact generally so.

It certainly must obtrude itself on us as a strange anomaly, and a very unlikely procedure, that a young and struggling church should spend its means and energies in erecting these lofty, massive, and useless towers, while they built the temples of the Most High small, low, and mean. The bell-tower or belfry was at all times looked upon merely as an adjunct to ecclesiastical buildings, and so secondary a one that it was sometimes erected of wood, as I have before shown; and it was very generally the last part of the sacred edifice that was completed; as indeed it is at the present day. How many rich and capacious churches have we at this moment whose towers have never yet been built, owing to the want of funds; the people naturally completing first, that which was most important and necessary.

I shall advance another reason why the Round Towers of Ireland cannot be considered as belfries or as ecclesiastical adjuncts, and it is this: that, among all the religious establishments founded by the early Scotic saints and missionaries in foreign lands, not one of them at present, nor yet in memory or tradition, can show us a single instance of a Round Tower of the true Hiberno-Celtic type. Scotland, it is true, possesses two towers unmistakebly of the above class; but they happen to be in that portion of the country which came under the dominion of the pagan Dalriads of Ulster, and whose entire topographial nomenclature is purely Irish.

I believe that Christian antiquity furnishes us with no case of missionary zeal parallel to that of the early Scotic (*i.e.* Irish) churchmen; their enthusiasm no dangers could affright, no hardships deter, no allurements seduce, no ridicule turn aside: they were eminently single-minded, their one object being to glorify God in the conversion of the heathen. These earnest men did not always wander about from place to place; they usually fixed upon some spot suitable for their labours, where there was a population requiring their teachings: in such places they erected, first a church, secondly a school; for the Scoti were then famous in Europe for their learning, and with them learning was the hand-maid of religion. These schools subsequently, upon the spread of Monachism, became monasteries, many of them remaining so to this day. For illustration, I would here refer to some of the most remarkable foreign establishments of the missionary Scoti.

In England the following were founded, between the fifth and eighth centuries:—Lindisfarne, Lestingham, Ripon, Gilling, Whitby, St. Bees, Abingdon, Malmesbury, Glastonbury, and Burgh-castle. St. Aidan preached to the people of the kingdom of Deira and Bernicia. St. Fursa converted the East Angles; St. Finian the Middle Angles. St. Kieran preached the gospel in Cornwall, and is still the patron of that country, under the name of Piran. In Britain also preached SS. Brendan, Maidoc, Senan, Molagga, Aed, and Colman. St. Maccaldus, of Down, was the first

bishop of Man, in the fifth century. In Scotland, St. Columba founded churches at Iona, Mull, Tiree, Islay, Lewis, and Oransey; St. Donaan at Eig; St. Brendan at Seil; St. Blaan at Bute; St. Molaise at Arran; St. Maelruba at Skye. Melrose, Coldingham, and numerous other abbies were also founded in that country by Irish missionaries. In Germany they founded establishments at Ratisbon, Wurtzburg, Erfurt, Constance, Nurnberg, Memmingen, Mentz, and Cologne. In France, Belgium, Switzerland, and Italy, innumerable religious houses were founded by them, between the sixth and twelfth centuries. It would occupy too much space here to enumerate them and their founders; those who are curious on the subject may consult Beda, Aldhelm, and Willebrod; and among the moderns, Colgan, Ussher, Ware, Lanigan, and Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, edited by Dr. Reeves. Now, I ask, is it not a very singular and significant fact, that if the Round Tower was a purely ecclesiastical structure, and a usual and necessary adjunct to our primitive churches, why is it that, among the hundreds of churches founded by the Scotic saints and missionaries in foreign lands, not one can exhibit a Round Tower,—no, not even in memory or tradition. Surely such zealous men as Columba, Brendan, Senan, Kilian, Kieran, &c., who had Round Towers standing in proximity to their own native monasteries or churches, would, if such were really essential ecclesiastical requisites, have introduced them in the various places where they preached the doctrines of the Cross, and founded churches. St. Columba has certainly been traditionally a great church-builder, yet we have no trace of a Round Tower in any of the numerous localities in Scotland where he is said to have built churches: to my mind, the argument is a perfectly conclusive one against these towers being of Christian origin or uses.

There is another fact fatal to the belfry theory, and it is this: that there is not a single tower that presents any original *preparation for hanging a bell*. Had the towers been erected for this purpose, the builders, keeping an immediate eye to their particular uses, would have made a solid and substantial preparation for suspending the bell, by inserting beams of durable oak, and leaving solid corbels of stone projecting internally as a foundation for the frame-work necessary for that purpose. Now, I have myself examined most of the Irish Round Towers, and have never found any such original preparation for the hanging of bells. In such of the towers as are at present used for belfries, holes had to be broken for the insertion of the requisite supports, and the violence requisite to accomplish this has in many instances been the cause of permanent injury to the structures. For instance, at Ardmore, where a bell was hung until recently, two rude rough gaps were made internally in the conical cap, into which a beam was inserted; the breaking of these holes has greatly injured the roof by displacing the masonry, while, to allow room for the bell to swing, the piers between the attic windows have been cut away and hollowed out: the whole operation having been productive of great injury to this structure. Any practical builder who has carefully examined the towers cannot fail to be struck with the make-shifts resorted to in adapting some of them to the purposes of belfrys. The holes for the timbers are invariably rough gaps in the masonry, not regular,

neatly-built openings formed during the progress of the original building: this is also particularly observable in those towers in which floors have been introduced, where rude joist-holes are observable broken through the internal masonry.

In my former notes on the Round Tower controversy, published in the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. vii. p. 155, I made the following statement—namely, that "the first notice that Dr. Petrie has been able to produce, of what he designates a round tower belfry, is in the middle of the tenth century." I must partially qualify this assertion, by referring to a statement made by that gentleman in p. 384 of his work, respecting the erection of what he considers to be a round tower in the sixth century; it is not indeed designated in the original by the learned gentleman, a *clochteach*, nevertheless he conceives he has good grounds for supposing it to be a *round* tower. The authority cited by Dr. Petrie is *Adamnan's Life of St. Columba*, as given in Pinkerton's *Lives of the Scottish Saints*, taken from a manuscript, in the British Museum, of the twelfth century. The passage rendered into plain English is as follows:—"Chap. 15. Of the angel of the Lord that came speedily to the assistance of the brother, who fell from the top of the Round Monastery at Durrow. Another time as the holy man sat in his cell, engaged in writing, his countenance suddenly changed, and he cried out from his pure breast, 'Help, help.' Two of the brethren who stood at the door, Colgu, a son of Cellach, and Lugneus Mo-cublai, enquired the reason of this sudden exclamation. The venerable man replied, saying—'I ordered the angel of the Lord, who was here, to go speedily to the assistance of one of the brothers, who fell from the highest point of a great church [de summo culmine magnæ domus] which is now erecting at Durrow.' And the saint subsequently remarked, 'how great and surpassing is the speed of angelic motion, like, as I imagine, to the swiftness of lightning. The heavenly spirit who fled hence, when that man began to fall, arrived there as in the twinkling of an eye, before the body reached the ground, and by this means saved him from fracture or any kind of injury.' Now, in the first place, I entirely dispute the authority of this collection of very apochryphal legends in settling a matter of fact of so much importance as the one under notice; the so-called Life, is no biography at all, but simply a collection of wonderful miracles and doings of St. Columba, given in paragraphs, without any sort of connection, and bearing ample evidence of their middle age origin. But, for argument's sake, admitting that this miracle was really performed, and that the original narrative has been carefully and truthfully handed down to us from the time of St Adamnan, I submit that the terms used do not bear the construction put upon them by Dr. Petrie. I should state that the heading prefixed to the chapter is not found in some of the editions of this work, and as it is upon this dubious heading Dr. Petrie labours to establish the point at issue, he argues that the more ancient editions of Canisius, of Messingham, and of the Bollandists, are wrong in omitting it; and that, as the manuscript from which Colgan published his edition agrees with that in the British Museum in retaining the heading, it ought to be received as a portion of the original text of Adamnan: admitting, how-

ever, that this point has been scrutinized by the learned through the various manuscript copies of eight or ten centuries, and the point settled that the heading is original, we come now to consider its bearing upon the matter in question.

Dr. Petrie's assumption is, that the designation "de monasterii culmine rotundi," signifies a Round Tower, or that we should so understand it, or that such a building was thus expressed. I shall give his argument on the passage—"The real question is, what the author could have meant by 'de monasterii culmine rotundi.' Not, certainly, that the monastery itself had a round roof, because we know that the monasteries of those days were a collection of small and detached cells, each devoted to a single monk; and certainly not that the church itself had one, as it appears, from the notice in the text of the chapter, that the 'culmen' was that of the 'magna domus;' and besides, from the quadrangular forms of all the Irish churches of this period, they could not have admitted of a dome roof. But more than all, supposing it was from the roof of the church that the monk was falling, or from any other building such as we know to have existed in connection with the monasteries of that period, the tower excepted, where would have been the danger, to escape which, the miraculous interposition of an angel would be necessary? Surely not to prevent him from a fall of twelve feet or so, which is the usual height of the side-walls of the abbey churches of this period; nor from the roofs of either the abbot's house or monks' cells, which, though usually round, were seldom, if ever, of a greater height than twelve feet, and from which, having rarely upright walls, there could have been no serious danger in falling. In short the miracle, to be a miracle at all, requires the supposition that the round roof on which the brother was at work must have been that of a building of great altitude, and from which a fall would be necessarily productive of certain death. Such a building, in fact, as a Round Tower, which was the only one of the kind the Irish had, either in those days or for many ages afterwards." We here find our author's argument to be founded upon the assumption that by the "top of the round monastery," a Round Tower is meant:—what authority is there for such an assumption? None whatever; the passage is plain and simple,—the round monastery. Surely, if the writer intended a lofty, slender, pillar tower, he would have conveyed his meaning in plain and suitable terms to designate such a structure. What, then, does the writer mean by the round monastery? Why, he simply means what he says, that this accident occurred in a monastery of a circular form. For the information of those not versed in the primitive ecclesiastical architecture of this country, I would explain to them that these establishments usually consisted of a number of circular stone-roofed cells, or *clochans*, each inhabited by a single recluse, with the church in the centre, or elsewhere; the whole enclosed by a circular wall or *cashel*, sometimes of uncemented masonry, sometimes of earth and stones, sometimes entirely of earth. An admirable description of those establishments will be found by the reader in Dr. Petrie's own work (p. 126), with illustrations of some of these circular stone-roofed cells. The heading of the

chapter quoted then reads plain and simple enough: that the accident happened in a religious establishment of this description, designated *round*, either from the form of its wall of circumvallation, or from the general form of its buildings, or from both. But why use the phrase "the top, &c.?" Simply because it is an ordinary and usual mode of expression; thus, it is common to say, a man fell off the top of the barracks, or the work-house, or the college, though there may be twenty roofs or buildings in any of them, the ordinary acceptation of the phrase being that the accident occurred from some of the buildings composing the college or the barracks, &c. But the heading of the chapter having thus stated where this circumstance did occur, the narrator in the relation expressly states the particular building from the top of which he fell, and he declares it to be the "magna domus." Now what building was the "magna domus?" in simple English, the "great house;" or, *par excellence*, the church. It was called *magna*, great, because of its superior size, its importance, its sanctity; the word *domus* is constantly and generally used to designate the sacred edifice. Parker, in his *Architectural Glossary*, at the word *dome*, says—"So much does the cupola prevail in the old churches, both in Italy and Germany, that the Latin word *domus*, or house, applied to that of worship, *par excellence*, is retained alike in the Italian appellation *duomo*, and the German one of *dom*, given to the cathedral of each city." Most of the ecclesiastical writers of the middle ages use the word *domus* for church; and indeed the mode of expression used in this legend smacks more of the middle ages than of the primitive times of St. Adamnan.

But Dr. Petrie further objects that it could not be from the church that the monk fell, inasmuch as the walls of the churches of these times were but twelve feet or so in height, and that there could be no miracle in saving a man's life in so trifling a fall. As to the exact height a fall from which will kill a man, I am not prepared to give an opinion; suffice it to say, I have known a man killed from a fall of six feet, and I have known men survive a fall of over forty feet. But if we examine the construction and size of the churches of that period, it will give us some insight into the probability of such an accident occurring. I will not here oblige Dr. Petrie to adhere to his statement (page 160 of his work,) of the Church of Armagh, erected in St. Patrick's time, being 140 feet in length, and argue from thence what the probable size of the church at Durrow may have been: because I do not believe in that fabled church, nor in the monster lime-kiln built to burn lime for it. I will confine myself to matters within the bounds of probability, and which can be verified by existing examples. St. Cormac's chapel, at Cashel; St. Flannan's and Molua's, at Killaloe; St. Kevin's, at Glendalough, and others of that class, will supply us with a type of what the 'Magna Domus' at Durrow was. Now, if we take one of the most moderate sized of those moderate churches, St. Kevin's Kitchen (so called), at Glendalough, we find that, though the walls are but $11\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, to the eaves, the ridge of the stone roof is $32\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, and consequently of an exceeding steep pitch; again, St. Columba's house, or oratory, at Kells, the dimensions of which

are but 24 feet by 21 feet, is within a fraction of 40 feet to the ridge of the stone roof. Will Dr. Petrie assert that it would be no miracle for a man's life to be saved in falling from the "culmen" of such an edifice. I was on the ridge of St. Kevin's stone-roofed church at Glendalough, and I assure my reader that a tumble from it would leave very few whole bones in any one's body. I have now done with this subject. I hope I have given a fair and unstrained exposition of this passage, which indeed needs little commentary if we take its simple statement, as given in the original.

EARLY IRISH CALIGRAPHY.

(*Concluded from page* 230.)

ACCOUNT OF THE MANUSCRIPTS.

We now proceed to an enumeration and examination of the Irish manuscripts still extant in the public libraries of Switzerland, and we shall direct our attention chiefly to their contents, and to the character in which they were written.

Unfortunately, a great many of the most valuable Irish manuscripts have been lost; for the reasons already mentioned, namely, from the dislike to the Irish letters, but still more in consequence of the decline of literary activity in the abbey of St. Gall, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; so that only a very small number have reached us in an uninjured state; and frequently a single leaf, which has been used for binding a book written at a later date, indicates the former existence of an important and beautiful Irish manuscript. We have taken some pains to collect a few even of the latter, and to give a slight artistic review of all these remains, whereby the amateur in archæological studies partly may become acquainted with the contents of these writings, partly also may obtain a view of the oldest caligraphy of this people, and be enabled to ascertain the period to which these manuscripts belong.

With respect generally to the contents of the Irish manuscripts which still exist, it appears that, with few exceptions, they relate to ecclesiastical and religious subjects, and particularly to the books of the New Testament, among which, the writings of St. John, who was held in especial honour in Ireland, have been multiplied by preference, and are preserved in numerous copies. As regards the version of the biblical writings, it has been ascertained by collations made on the Continent as well as in England, that the Irish copies are based almost exclusively on oriental originals.

"Different circumstances," says Westwood,[a] "furnish proof that, during several centuries,

[a] Westwood's *Palæographia Sacra*.

the ancient Christian Church in Ireland was not incorporated with the Church of Rome, and that her discipline and her various peculiarities indicate a connection with the Eastern Church. Sir Robert Cotton, Spelman, Camden, and Selden, have proved that, before the arrival of St. Augustine, the Egyptian rule alone prevailed in Ireland. It is known that the conversion of Ireland took place at a very early period, though it has not been yet ascertained whether the Irish received Christianity from Lyons, through the pupils of Irenæus, or from Romish or British missionaries at that time, as Great Britain was still under the dominion of the Romans. Secluded from the rest of the civilized world, the Irish Church preserved her original form and discipline unchanged, even when Rome, after the lapse of centuries, had already assumed a domineering character, and had introduced a set of rules and principles which were quite unknown to the more ancient church, and consequently to the Irish one likewise. Hence arose the controversies and disputes between the Irish missionaries in the North of England and the Romish missionaries and adherents of St. Augustine. Hence also the circumstance, that, whilst the Romish Church, in the sixth century, was zealously endeavouring to substitute the Vulgate for the old Italic translation of the Bible, and the Septuagint, almost all Irish manuscripts follow a version differing from the Vulgate, or are composed of a mixed Text compiled from the Vulgate and the older versions. Also, the commencement of Irish gospels never contains the usual Canons and Prefaces which are prefixed in the Vulgate. These peculiarities led Archbishop Ussher to affirm that previous to the year 815, the ancient Irish version was exclusively in use in Ireland."

A. IRISH BOOKS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE MONASTERY OF ST. GALL.

1. *The Gospel of St. John*, Codex No. 60.[b]—The Catalogue of books in the monastery of St. Gall, drawn up in the ninth century, mentions this MS. twice, as follows: —"Item evangelia II. secundum Johannem scotticè scripta;" and again among the books written in the Scotic [Irish] handwriting: "Evangelium secundum Johannem in vol. I." This Gospel is divided neither into chapters nor verses, but into 232 paragraphs. The MS. contains also a Harmony of the Gospels, in which it specifies the number of paragraphs into which the Gospels were divided, together with the Canon of Aïmonious. The plates of ivory, adorned with carving, which form the binding, seem to be the work of a Roman artist, and to have been imitated by Tuotilo in the so-called "Evangelium longum." [See specimens of MSS., Plate iv. 1.]

2. *Priscianus*, No. 904. This MS. also is found entered in the above-mentioned Catalogue of the 9th century. It is written in the Irish cursive hand, and presents numerous combinations of letters and abbreviations. The text is explained in a great many places by interlinear glosses, which are in Latin in the early portion of the book, and often in Irish in that which follows. In the latter there are notes on single words written on the upper and lower margins, less frequently, however, on the

[b] The remarks on the MSS. and fragments at St. Gall are taken from the notices published in Latin by Von Arx.

upper. Notes and words likewise occur in Irish runic [Ogham] writing, as in other Irish MSS. Sometimes the hour of the day is mentioned at which a leaf was completed, for example:—"Tertia hora tempus prandii, nox adest;" and in other places we have these remarks:—"Difficilis ista pagina, Hucusque, depinxit, bene est hic" &c. Frequently the assistance of God and the Irish saints is invoked for the work of transcription, thus:—"Sancta Brigita, auctor adjuva lucis æternæ; Sancta Brigita ora pro nobis; Sancta Brigita adjuva scriptorem istius artis; Brigita adjuva, fave Brigita; Sanctus Patricius; in nomine Sancti Chormitii [*rectè* Diormitii]; Sanctus Dionysius ora pro nobis." There also occur many proper names and other designations, such as "Finguine, Cuthbert, Follega, Donnogus, Ellinirmo, Cobthaich, Fernchor."

The holes in the parchment are not, as in other manuscripts, left open, but are filled up with pieces which fit exactly into them, and are sewed in with horse-hair.

This remarkable manuscript was added to the library of St. Gall in the middle of the ninth century, under the abbot Grimoald (between 841 and 872), who during 31 years caused many books to be transcribed. Ratpert, in his Chronicle of this abbey, makes particular mention of it as the "*Grammatica Prisciani in Vol.* i." [See specimens, Plate iv. 2]

3. *A Fragment*, Codex No. 1395.—A single leaf, remarkable for its designs composed of figures of animals and interlaced lines, its angular capitals, and extremely delicate and beautiful handwriting. The words in angular writing (of which the first letter, a "P," on account of its size could not be copied in our Plate) read as follows: "Peccavimus Domine peccavimus parcun." The style of penmanship is the beautiful Irish minuscule, in which most of the liturgical books of that people are written. [See specimens, Plate iv. 3.]

4. *A Fragment*, No. 751.—Apparently a manuscript of the eighth century, in duodecimo, containing a treatise by Hippocrates and Galen on the cure of diseases. The parchment is rough and hard. [See specimens, Plate iv. 4.]

5. *A Fragment*, No. 1395.—A fragment of a treatise on poetry. The rules of this art are here communicated in a dialogue between M and D, that is, "Magister and Discipulus." The following words which occur in this fragment, "Elementa suo populo persuaderi non posse," appear to signify that, at the time when this metrical treatise was composed, the people among whom the author lived used the Latin language (unless, indeed, by "populus" we are to understand the inmates of a monastery, or learned persons). It is to be observed, moreover, that the letters have not the usual characteristic of Irish writing. They are angular, instead of rounded in the turns, and are executed without much skill. They present a great similarity to the writing of the *Gospel of St. Moling*, which belongs to the seventh century, and that of the *Liber Hymnorum*, which was written in the ninth or tenth. There is a fac-simile of both of these in O'Donovan's Irish Grammar. [See specimens, Plate iv. 5.]

6. *Fragment*, No. 1394.—A portion of an Irish Sacramentarium, varying from the Roman

one, belonging, probably, to the ninth century, and written with great elegance. It contains different prayers for the Mass of the Purification of the blessed Virgin Mary, and a part of a Canon; and seems to be the remains of the Missal mentioned in the catalogue of St. Gall among the Scotic books. That it relates to the ceremonial of the Scotic Mass is apparent, partly from the numerous *orationes* [i.e. collects or prayers] on account of which St. Columbanus (who retained in Gaul the ceremonial of his own country) was censured by the bishops (see Jonas in his *Life of St. Columbanus*), partly from the circumstance that in the Prayer, "Libera nos quæsumus," the words "Patricio episcopo" are added to the names of Peter and Paul. [See specimens, Plate iv. 6.]

7. *Fragment*, No. 1395.—The Epistle of St. Paul to the Colossians. [See specimens, Plate iv. 7.

8. *Fragment*, No. 1395.—A portion of a Mass for the dead, from a small Irish missal. The passages that occur in it from the Gospel of St. John do not agree with the Vulgate, nor with the old Italic version of the Codex of Vercelli, or Verona, or Brixen, &c. [See specimens, Plate iv. 8.]

9. *Fragment*, No. 1493.—A treatise on the figures of speech. This fragment treats of the figures of Catacrisis, Metalempsis, Metonymia, &c. The writing is extremely beautiful. The text contained in these leaves agrees neither with the *Schema* of Cassiodorus, Boëtius, Beda, nor Isidorus. Perhaps it may be from the writings of Aldhelm, the Anglo-Saxon bishop, whose work on Metre has been published by A. Majo. [See specimens, Plate iv. 9.]

10. *Fragment*, No. 1394.—The first three chapters of the gospel of St. Luke, and undoubtedly belonging to the ninth century. The parchment is thick and discoloured. The writing is the roundish minuscule-hand of the Irish, and is of great beauty. It is replete with contractions and abbreviations. [See specimens, Plate iv. 10.]

11. *Codex*, No. 930.—A duodecimo book, made of waste parchment, and which was formerly considered as an autograph work of St. Gall himself. It contains, besides the letter of St. Jerome to Paulinus, remarks on various subjects, as for instance, on God, on Matter, on Persons (from St. Augustine), on the Roman Magistrates (from St. Jerome), on Geometry, on Incense, on the Owl, on the Alphabet (from St. Isidore), on Saint Jerome, on the Holy Cross, and the Church, on the Oriental Cycle, on the Age of the World, on the Sun-dial, on Adam, on Christ, on the Hours of the Day, on the Hebrew Alphabet, and on the Time for Blood-letting. Finally, there is contained in it a remarkable Latin-German Dictionary, which, however, does not seem to have been written in Germany. That the writer was a Scot [Irishman] is proved not only by the style of hand-writing, but by the way he speaks of some animals; for example, of the *Porphyrion*, of which he says—"It is not to be found in Britannia;" and of the *Onocrotalus*, "This animal also we have not." This portion of the book exhibits many errors of words and spelling, both in the German and Latin. At page 89, we find the following lines, which comprise all the letters of the alphabet:—

Te canit adcelebratque polus rex gazifer hymnis,
Trans zephyrique globum scandunt tua fata per axem.

This manuscript does not appear to be older than the eighth century, and belongs to the time of Othmar. [See specimens, Plate iv. 11.]

12. *The Gospels*, Codex No. 48.—The four Gospels in the Greek language, with a Latin interlinear translation, to which is prefixed a Hymn of St. Hilary. Professor Rettig, who published a *fac-simile* of this manuscript at Zurich, in the year 1836, has, in his Preface to this work, expressed the opinion that this book, which is the work of different hands, may have been written by Irish monks at St. Gall, probably under abbot Grimoald (841-873), or his learned successor, Hartmuot. He refers to this book the title "Evangeliorum volumen unum," which appears in the Catalogue of Ratpert [see *Casus S. Galli*, in Pertz's *Monumenta Germanica*, ii., p. 70], and also these verses, composed by the monk just mentioned:—

"Præmia tantorum, cui dona Christe, laborum,
Huicque polum tribuas, qui sydera celsa crearas,
Mattheus, Marcus, Lucas, pariterque Johannes
Sint illi comites quorum celebrabat honores."

That this codex was written by Irishmen is placed beyond all doubt by the form of the Greek as well as Latin letters. [See specimens, Plate iii. 1.]

13. *A Fragment*, No. 1395.—A Prayer for the dying. [See specimens, Plate iii. 2].

14. *Latin Gospels*, Codex No. 51.—The four Gospels in the usual order, but divided in a peculiar manner into Lessons and Verses: Matthew into seven, Mark into three, Luke into five, and John into six Lessons. The commencement of the Lessons is marked by the use of ornamented and painted capitals; the commencement of the Verses by plain but painted ones. The text agrees neither with the Vulgate of Jerome nor the old Italic version. It is full of mistakes in spelling, so that one might suppose that the writer was little, if at all, acquainted with the Latin language. [See specimens, Plate iii. 3.]

15. *A Fragment.*—The elements of Poetry, Metre, and the Figures of Speech are here discussed in a Dialogue, between M. and D., *i.e.*, "Magister and Discipulus." [See specimens, plate iii. 4.]

B. IN THE CITY-LIBRARY OF SCHAFFHAUSEN.

Adamnani Vita St. Columbæ. — A manuscript in perfect preservation, and well-written. Dr. Reeves, who has compared it with the other manuscripts of Adamnan's work, is of opinion that this MS., of which he has obtained a *fac-simile*, and which undoubtedly belonged, at a former period, to the Library of the abbey of Reichenau, is the oldest and most complete copy of the biography of the celebrated Irish Saint now existing; and that it is the one from which Colgan, the great Irish hagiologist, got a copy made at Reichenau. Colgan thus expresses himself in his work, which has now become extremely rare [*Trias Thaumaturga, seu Divorum Patricii, Columbæ, et Brigidæ*

Acta, studio R. P. F. Johannis Colgan, in Conventu F.F. Minor. Hibernorum Lovanii S. Theologiæ Lectoris Jubilati. Lovanii, 1647*]:—

"Author, St. Adamnan, abbot; from a manuscript in Augia Dives [Reichenau]. This Life was communicated to us by R. P. P. Stephanus Vitus (*Anglicè* White), of the Society of Jesus, a man skilled in general antiquities, and especially zealous in those of his country; for this reason called by many 'Polyhistor.' It was transcribed by his own hand, from a very ancient manuscript in the monastery of Augia Dives, in Germany. This work of St. Adamnan was published at Ingoldstadt, in 1604, by Henry Canisius, in the 4th volume of his *Antiquæ Lectiones*, from a MS. in the Abbey of Windberg; and afterwards at Paris, in 1624, by our countryman Thomas Messingham, in his *Florilegium Sanctorum Hiberniæ*, but taken from Canisius. That the work in both these editions is very defective and mutilated at the commencement, will be readily observed by the reader, on comparing them with our present one, wherein the genuine work itself is given with such completeness that I would consider it to have been transcribed in full and without omission, from the very autograph; except that the table of the chapters of the succeeding narrative is wanting in the second and third Books; and that the contents of all the subsequent chapters of Book I. are prefixed to it: a mode which we see no reason for doubting was adopted by the author in other cases. Moreover, this copy of the MS. of Augia (from which ours has been transcribed) is so ancient, and is executed so faithfully, that had not the same codex been discovered in Germany, it might be regarded as none other than the one written by the hand of St. Dorbeneus, the disciple of Adamnan, and abbot of Iona, either during Adamnan's life or shortly after his death. Indeed, he himself alludes to this in the following words, at the end of the third book:—'Obsecro eos quicumque voluerint hos discribere libellos,' &c."

The text in Colgan's work exactly agrees with this Reichenau MS. However, Colgan or Vitus (White) has taken the liberty of altering the orthography, writing *onomata* for *anomata*, *exarare* for *craxare*, *exarata* for *craxata*, &c.

A second MS. of Columba's Life, which agrees pretty closely with ours, is preserved in the British Museum; a third, but much less perfect, which resembles the Life of St. Columba edited by Canisius, occurs in a MS. containing the lives of many Irish Saints, which belongs to Primate Marsh's Library, in Dublin; a fourth is in the Burgundian Library, at Brussels; a fifth is preserved in the Abbey of St. Gall, which, however, is not in Irish hand-writing, although it appears in the Catalogue of the ninth century, and has at the end a portrait of St. Columba; a sixth and seventh are among the MSS. at Vienna; an eighth at Windberg, which has been printed by Canisius; and a tenth [ninth] in the Library of the cathedral at Admont, in Styria.†

* For a detailed account of this valuable book, see vol. i. of this *Journal*, page 298.

† The history of all the known MSS. of Adamnan's work, accompanied by *fac-similes*, is given in the Introduction to Dr. Reeves's *Vita S. Columbæ*, printed in 1857, for the Irish Archæological Society.

A remarkable Irish MS., which formerly belonged to the Library at Rheinau (or rather Reichenau), and which is perhaps a production of the founder of the monastery himself, is quoted by Westwood. It contains the Epistles of St. Paul in the Greek language, with a Latin translation in Irish characters. The Greek text follows the Alexandrian recension. This MS. is at present in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge.[c]

C. IN THE TOWN LIBRARY AT BASEL.

The Town Library at Basel possesses at least three Irish MSS.

1. A beautiful *Irish Psalter* (marked A. vii. 3.), respecting which Wetstein in his *Prolegomena in Novum Testamentum* (vol. ii., p. 9), states as follows:—

"Of the same age and period [as the Codex Boernerianus] seems to be the Greek Psalter now in the Library of Basel, in which the Greek version is written in capital letters and without accents, and the Latin written above the Greek lines in the Anglo-Saxon character." Indeed it must have been written in Ireland, as may be inferred from a hymn which is inserted in praise of Brigid and Patrick: "Alta audite τὰ εργα toto mundo micantia Brigittæ beatissimæ in Christo, sancta adepta opima Patricii patrocinia electa, apta alumna Patricii . . . . in nostra insula, quæ vocatur beatissima."[d] Likewise, a quotation is given from Alcuin, the preceptor of Charlemagne, at the 7th chapter of his first book *De Fide Catholica*.[e]

It is to be regretted that the last five psalms are wanting in this manuscript. At the beginning and end of the book are added, by a later hand, some liturgical pieces, for example:—"De conscientiæ reatu ante altare;" and fragments of hymns, such as the hymn for matins, "Splendor paterne glorie." This manuscript was intended for use in the church, as is shown by the lock fastened on the binding. [See specimens, Plate iii. 5.]

2. *Liber S. Isidori Hispalensis de Natura Rerum*, (marked FF. III. 15. a.)—The first fourteen chapters of this work are entirely gone, and of the fifteenth only the conclusion remains, namely, from the words "Scriptum est: nobis autem, qui creditis, orietur sol iustitiæ et sanitas." As the word "Scriptum" stands on the second page of a leaf, and begins with an ornamented capital, it is quite evident that the original which the writer made use of was also deficient in these same chapters. The manuscript is written in a fine sharp running hand [see specimens, Plate iii. 6], but contains a great many verbal and orthographical errors, such as "Februalius, Martias, Aprelius, October,

[c] The contents of this MS., commonly known as the *Codex Augeniensis*, have been published, with a *fac-simile* in photograph, by the Rev. F. H. Scrivener (Cambr., 1859.)

[d] Alta audite ta erga toto mundo micantia Brigite beatissima in Christo corus. Electa apta alumna Patricii cum prudentia, &c. Sancta adepta opima Patricii patrocinia. Qui consedit in cathedra Christi cum matre Maria, item Christus in nostra insulaque vocatur beatissima.

[e] At the end is a later handwriting:—"Alcuinus VII. Capite libri primi de fide catholica ait, quod spiritus sanctus communis est patris et filii spiritus, &c."

Scorpia, Neoptunus, &c." The representation of the Zodiac and Moon, which occurs in this MS., [see Plate iii. 7 8,] gives an idea of the character of Irish manuscript-pictures as they are met with in the works of profane writers.

Between the text and the astronomical Plates there has been inserted, by a later hand, a recipe for curing a wound, written in Latin. A still later hand has subjoined a translation of it in German, which was published at Basel, in 1834, by Hoffman, of Fallersleben.

After the recipe, another hand has written the following form of adjuration, in which St. Veronica [Beronice] is thus invoked :—

"Beronice, Beronice, Beronice, libera me de sanguinibus deus deus salutis meæ et exultauit lingua mea iustitiam tuam riuos cruoris torridi contacta uestis abstruit fletus rogantis supplices arent fluenta sanguinis :

" † a † e † n † o † l † a † s † e † n † o † l † a † g † l † u † a † domine Jehsus Christus qui in patibulum crucis propter hoc signum sancti cruces digna liberare famulo tuo famulam tuam de artores febrium, amen, amen, amen, sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, ciriocleison, cirioeleison, ciriocleison."

"Liber uita sanctorum dormientium in effeso [Epheso] dormierunt et in ilum librum St. Cronih, sci Furseus liber sententialis alexantri."[f]

The last leaves of this MS. contain a fragment of the *Liber Differentiarum* of Isidore.

3. *Isidori Liber Secundus de Differentiis Spiritalibus* (marked FF. III. 15 e.).—This commences with the words "Inter deum et dominum ita quidam definierunt, ut in Dei appellatione Patrem, in Domini Filium intellegerent, &c."

At the end of the book is inserted, by the same hand, the Anastasian Creed. The writing is a handsome minuscule, which is remarkable for the uncommon sharpness of the letters, and by the peculiar circumstance that the writer has endeavoured to give the heads of those letters that project upwards in a point the form of a triangle, in consequence of which the inclosed space has remained almost white. This MS. also contains a great number of verbal and orthographical errors. [See specimens, Plate iii. 9.]

D. IN THE TOWN-LIBRARY OF BERNE.

The well-preserved Irish manuscript in the Town-Library of Berne, marked No. 363, contains the following pieces, which have been written by different hands:—

1. *Servii Mauri Grammatici Commentarius in Bucolic. Georgic. et Æneid. Virgilii.*
2. *Chirii Fortunatiani Ars Rhetorica.*
3. *Aurelii Augustini Dialectica et Rhetorica.*
4. *Scholia in Horat. et Metamorph. Ovidii.*

[f] The numerous errors in orthography and words in the passages quoted from Irish manuscripts are not to be considered as errors in the printing: they are found so in the manuscripts themselves.

5. *Bedæ Histor. Gentis*, &c.—Imperfect. In this MS. the following Irish words occur:—*Isel*, deep, low; *tailcind*, shaved on the head; *frigargg*, with roughness; *catarch*, of a city; *togluasach*, motion; *chombaint*, contact.

E. IN THE LIBRARY OF THE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY OF ZURICH.

1. *Fragment of an old Irish Ritual.*—The specimen which we shall give here relates to the confirmation of a young woman, and is as follows:—"Oremus fratres carissimi misericordiam ut bonum tribuere dignetur huic puelle N., que uotum candidam uestem perferre cum dignitate corone in resurrectione uitæ eternæ quam facturus est orantibus nobis prestet deus Conserua dne istius douotæ [*sic*] pudorem castitatis dilectionem continentiæ in factis in dictis in cogitationibus per Xpe Ihu. . . . qui cum patre uiuis. Accipe puella pallium candidum quod perferas ante tribunal dni," &c.

2. *Fragment of an ancient Sacramentarium.*—The following specimen is taken from the Gospel at St. Thomas's day (John xx. 24):—"Horum itaque nunc in eclesia episcoc locum tenent soluendi alligandi auctoritatem suscipiunt qui gradum regiminis sortiunt causæ ergo pensande sunt et uidendum quæ culpa aut que sit poten [*sic*] secundum post culpam" &c.

3. *Fragment of the Writings of the Prophet Ezechiel.*—The portiongiven in *fac-simile** occurs in Ezechiel, iii. 8:—"Audi et uade ingredire ad transmigrationem ad filios populi tui et loqueris ad eos et dices eis hæc dicet dominus deus si forte audiant et quiescant et adsumsit me spiritus et audiui post me uocem commotionis magnæ benedicta gloria dni, de loco suo," &c.

4. *Fragment of a Grammar*, by an unknown author.—The extract given in the Plate,* which does not occur in the work either of a classical or mediæval writer, is as follows:—"In us correptam desinentia feminina si sint propria uel græca in os apud grecos desinentia uel arborum nomina secundæ sunt declinationis ut hæc tirus, tiri, cyprus, cypri, arctus, arcti, pylus, pyli, cupressus, cupressi, pinus, arbutus, alnus, pyrus."

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATES.†

PLATE I. *Matthew.*—This figure of Matthew occurs along with those of the three other Evangelists, and the two succeeding representations, Christ on the Cross and the Last Judgment, and with the illustrations ‡ in the manuscript No. 51, a specimen of the penmanship of which is given in Plate iii. 3.

Matthew is represented here sitting on a chair, and bearing on his arm a book, which indicates that he is the writer of a Gospel. The word "pupin," written on the cover of the book, has

* Reference is made here to a Plate of *fac-similes*, which does not accompany the present translation.

† Only a portion of these Plates is given here.

‡ See the two *Fac-similes* of Illuminations, *antè*.

been added by a later hand. He wears a cap of peculiar form, and is without a beard. It is remarkable that the head of the mortal man, Matthew, is surrounded by a nimbus, while that of the angel which hovers over him is without this distinction.[g] The clothing, whose folds in the figures of this apostle and Mark (less so in those of Luke and John) are treated quite in an architectural style, appears to consist of an under-shirt, and an over-coat without sleeves, which is raised up by the arms. The feet are in shoes, or else are not shown. The angel, who likewise carries a book, and whose wings are painted in a chequered manner, is figured with the arms joined and the fingers clasped, in the attitude of a person praying. A complete ignorance of perspective is shown by the arms of the chair projecting out sideways, though seen from the front. The ornamental border at the right and left sides is peculiarly Irish in its style of art. The places left white on the left shoulder and between the feet show carelessness in the painter. Similar defects, arising from negligence, are seen in most Irish paintings.

Plate II. *Mark.*—He is represented likewise sitting on a chair, with his Gospel in his hand. The picture is very similar to the preceding one, as regards the drapery and the entire arrangement; but the head here is uncovered, while on the contrary, the neck is enveloped by the under-garment up to the chin. The two parts which appear between the hair and the shoulders are peculiar, and not easily explained: they might represent either a cowl or a collar. Perhaps they are of a similar nature to the appendages found in the picture of St. John in the Gospel of Mael-Brith MacDurnan (see Westwood's work). Over the head of the Evangelist is represented the symbolical bull, the head and upper part of whose body are so badly drawn that the species of the animal can only be guessed at by the form of the feet. The manner in which the left wing at the back is shown fully extended between the fore-legs of the animal is remarkable, and agrees perfectly with the productions of Assyrian art (see Layard's Atlas,) as well as Egyptian. To the simple borders which inclose the figure the same remark is applicable as in the preceding picture.

Plate III. *Luke.*—Luke, as well as John (both displaying a similar style of treatment), is represented sitting, although no trace of a chair can be observed. The head of Luke is covered with curling hair, which falls on his shoulders Moustaches and a beard, which are divided into symmetrically-arranged parts and bespeckled with red dots, hang downwards on the breast. The over-garment, the upper edge of which is shown, is evidently a close frock without sleeves, and is coloured green; while the under-garment, which appears with numerous folds, has received a red tint. The left hand is turned outwards. In the richly-ornamented border appear all the four evangelical symbolic animals, on whose Egyptian character we have already remarked. The object held in the hands of the angel, who is looking towards the Evangelist, is doubtful: as we have never met with anything similar in miniature or sculptural representations, we are not in a position to decide whether we are to understand by it a roll of writing, or, what it has a greater resemblance

[g] See Didron, *Iconographie Chrétienne.*

SPECIMENS OF ANCIENT IRISH MANUSCRIPTS.—(CHRIST ON THE CROSS.)

to, a bone. In like manner, the excrescence shown over the heads of the lion and bull is obscure, unless we are to consider it in the one case as the mane, in the other the horn. That the head of the eagle should be in a nimbus, as it appears here, is, according to Didron, not unusual.

PLATE IV. *John.*—John is without beard, and wears a blue under-garment, edged and trimmed with red cloth. The upper clothing corresponds with that in the preceding pictures. The pupils of the eyes are painted black, and the eye-brows are represented by broad curved lines. As in the figure of Luke, the toes of the feet are distinctly drawn. The hair of the head is coloured blue in a strange manner, and covered with red dots. The eagle above the Evangelist is furnished, like all birds in Irish pictures, with long toes and claws. The ornamental field of the bordering exhibits much complication, and, along with the twining decorations, has likewise mosaic and panelled ornaments. On this and the foregoing picture the artist has bestowed much care and attention.

PLATE V. *Christ on the Cross.*—Christ is represented, in conformity with the most ancient conception, as a beardless[h] man, with long hair, which looks like that of the Evangelist Mark, and with a *nimbus*, in which the cross is wanting.[i] His apparel differs essentially from that of other individuals belonging to the circle of Irish art, in not consisting of an under-garment, or gown, or mantle, but of a strip of cloth, in which the body is swathed. Out of this shroud project the arms as far as the elbows, which are painted red; while the legs, projecting similarly from the knee-joints, are coloured blue.

The incapacity of the artist rendered him unable either to communicate dignity of conception to the figure, or the expression of suffering to the countenance. One improvement, however, may be remarked in this Plate, in the sketching of the nose, in which the under side is not shown as elsewhere. The nails by which the body is suspended are not represented either in the hands or feet, nor do any marks of wounds appear.

Underneath Christ, at the right and left, stand two Roman soldiers, whose dress does not in any way differ from that of the figures already described. The one gives the death-blow with the spear, the other holds up a sponge to the mouth of our Lord. Above the Cross, the two corresponding panels are filled by two angels, looking towards Christ, and carrying books in their hands. The bordering of this picture is simple. [See specimens of MSS., Plate I.]

PLATE VI. *The Last Judgment.*—Christ here appears as judge of the world, bearing on one arm a book, and on the other a Cross, his right hand held up, and giving the benediction,

[h] Didron, *Iconographie Chrétienne*, p. 101:—"Dans la première et la seconde période de l'art chrétien, c'est à dire du II[e] on III[e] siècle jusqu' au X[e], jusqu' au règne des premiers Capétiens, le Christ est représenté le plus souvent jeune et imberbe."

[i] Didron, *Iconographie Chrétienne*, p. 50:—"Les artistes, comme les copistes du moyen âge, etaient souvent peu instruits: ils omettaient un caractère constant, soit par négligence soit par ignorance. Il ne faut donc pas s' étonner, si l'on rencontre souvent des personnes divines sans nimbe ou avec un nimbe uni et non croisé."

according to the Latin form. Although this representation does not differ from the preceding one in any important point, and, so far as regards the face, the nose and mouth are likewise treated according to the customary tasteless pattern, still the expression is nobler, inasmuch as the hair (a copy, one might suppose, of a Byzantine design,) is parted, and the forehead is freely exposed. On each side of the Redeemer appears an angel furnished with a *nimbus*, and blowing the judgment-trumpet. In the lower division of the picture are seen the twelve Apostles, carrying books, and having their heads inclined backwards, looking up towards Christ.

Plate VII. *The Evangelist Matthew*[k] (in Codex collectan. 1395).—He is represented as seen from the side, seated on a chair, and writing. His apparel consists of a tunic and a mantle, or upper garment. The head, with its curling hair, and the nose are seen in profile, but the eyes are seen in front view; the beard is straight and uncurled. Contrary to the usual custom, the nimbus is, like that of divine personages, furnished with a cross.[l] With the right hand he dips the writing-instrument (without any doubt, a quill) into the ink-horn, fastened to the arm-chair; in the left hand (the fingers of which are very badly drawn) he holds a penknife of the shape seen in many Irish and Anglo-Saxon miniature paintings. [See, for example, the picture of Bede writing, in Codex 60 in the Ministerial Library at Schaffhausen.] The feet are inclosed in shoes.

I have failed in ascertaining the meaning of the objects of a hieroglyphic kind, which are introduced under the chair. Mone considers them to be writing materials; but the form of these articles hardly supports this hypothesis.

Opposite to the Evangelist appears his customary attribute, an angel with wings outstretched, and directed upwards and downwards, holding in his right hand a book, and seeming to support, with his left, the book belonging to the Evangelist. Upon the verse of the leaf on which this picture appears, are the following lines, in Irish characters:—

1. Niartu in ni in donu ni muir arnoib briathraib rolabrastar c r assadir
2. diuscart dim andelg delg dniscoilt eru ceiti meim meinni beai beim nand
3. dodath scenn toscen todaig rogarg fiss goibnen aird goibnenn renairdgoib,
4. nenn ceingeth ass: focertar indepaidse in im nadtet i visce ¿ fuslegar de
5. Immandelg Immecuairt ¿ nitet faranairrinde nach foranalath ¿ manibe
6. andelg ond dutoeth i dalafiacail airthir ochinn :: Argalar fuail:
7. Dum esuresa diangalar fuailse dunesairc eu et dunescarat enin en laithi
8. admai ibdach;———focertar i so dogres imaigin hitabair thual:
9. PCHNy τ ϕ c λ H ɯ HHH y buc: KNAA τ yonibvs: finit:
10. Caput Christi, oculus isaiæ, frons nassui noe labia, lingua Salomonis, collum

[k] See notice *ante* of Manuscript No. 3.

[l] "Les anges, comme les saints de ce monde, portent le nimbe uni. Cependant des monumens assez nombreux offrent des anges dont le nimbe est croisé comme le nimbe de Dieu lui-même." Of a nimbus with a cross on an Apostle Didron gives no example.

SPECIMENS OF ANCIENT IRISH MANUSCRIPTS.—(SAINT MATTHEW)

11. Thematei mens beniamin, pectus Pauli, unctus iohannis, fides abrahe
12. Sanctus Scs scs dns ds sabaoth : Conir anisiu cachdia im duchenn archen (imduda are)
13. galar iarnagabail dobir dasale itbais ¿ dabir imduchenn ¿ fortchulatha
14. Cam dupat fothri lase ¿ dobir cros ditsuliu forochtar dochinn ¿ dogin ata.
15. randsa da U. fortchiunn.

Written by a later hand.

16. Zessurc marb, biu ardiring argoth sring aratt dic
17. hinn arfuilib hiairn arul loscas tene arub hithes cu rop
18. acuhru crinas theoracnoe crete teorafethi fichte benim
19. agalar arfiuch fuli guil fuli nirubatt ree ropslan
20. forsate admuimur in slanicid foracab diancecht liamun
21. focertar i so dogres itouis lain diviseib ocindlut ¿ dabir itbeulus imbri i damer;
23. cechtar ai aleth;
24. tir corops lan aniforsate : *(in the former hand-writing)* atanessa dolutam ithbelaib.*

Regarding the meaning of the last eight lines, I have to thank Dr. Todd, of Dublin, for the following communication :—"These lines are purely Irish, and present no difficulty, although they are evidently very ancient, probably as old as the tenth century. They contain a medical charm. The following is a literal translation :—

"A preservation for the dead, the living, for the want of sinews, for the tongue-tie, for swelling of the head; of wounds from iron, of burning from fire, of the bite of a hound; prevents the lassitude of old age, cures the decline three times, the rupture of the blood-vessels; takes away the virulence of the festering sore, the poignancy of grief, the fever of the blood,—they cannot contend with it. He to whom it shall be applied shall be made whole. Extolled be the elixir of life bequeathed by Diancecht to his people, by which every thing to which it is applied is made whole."

"Elixir of life (slancid) signifies a sovereign remedy, literally 'health-healing.' Diancecht is a celebrated personage in Irish history, to whom the ancient Irish physicians attribute all their traditions. He was the physician of the Tuatha De Danann, a colony of foreigners who, according to the traditional history of Ireland, landed in the north-west of the county of Mayo, in the year of the world 2737. To these the Irish attributed the knowledge of all arts and sciences; and tradition has invested them with the character of magicians, probably from their superior civilization. They came to a battle, in which they defeated the former inhabitants of the county, at a place called Moy-Tuiredh, near Lough Measg, where it is said that Diancecht, the physician, during the battle dug a pit or bath, which he filled with a decoction of herbs. Into this he plunged such of his people as were wounded in the battle, who were immediately restored to perfect health, and sent back to renew the fight. I think it almost certain that there is an allusion to this tradition in the passage above translated."

* See Zeuss, *Grammatica Celtica*, v l. ii., near the end.

Diancecht, the physician, is named in the fragment of an old Irish MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin (Class H. 3.17):—"The poets were then deprived of the judicature, except that part of it which was meet for them; and each of the men of Ireland took his own share in it, as did the authors of the following judgments, namely, of . . . . . , of *Diancecht, the physician*, but these had existed before this period, &c." [*Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xviii., part ii., page 75.]

Plate VIII. *John the Evangelist.* (At the commencement of the Gospel of St. John, vellum MS., No. 60.)—This picture, both in the treatment of the principal figure and in the ornamentation, betrays a very unskilful hand, and, if genuine, indicates the complete decline of Irish art. In design it is crude, and in execution is far behind any other Irish picture that we have met with in English manuscripts or printed works; so that we are led to believe that it is only an imitation of Irish art drawn by a careless hand. The form of the letters "Johannis," but still more the contour of the head, the treatment of the hair, the painting of the cheeks and forehead red, and so on, shows us at once clearly that neither an Irishman, nor yet an Anglo-Saxon, is to be considered as the author of this picture. It was the artist's intention to represent the Evangelist seated on a chair; but the hands are wanting in the bag-like sleeves, and the feet are lost in trellis-work.

Plate IX. *Decoration* (on page 6 of the Book of Gospels, Codex No. 51).—This Illumination, as well as the following one (Plate x.), belongs to the most elegant and most tasteful productions of Irish ornamental art, and is not surpassed by any similar picture in Irish books either on the Continent or in England.*

Plate X. *Ornamental Initial Letter* (at page 7 of the same manuscript).—We have here the first words of the 18th verse in the first chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, which read as follows:—"Christi (xpi) autem generatio sic erat."*

Plates XI., XII., XIII. *Various Specimens of Irish Writing.* [See specimens, Plates III. and IV.]

In Haenel's *Catalogus Librorum MSS.*, at p. 734 of the synopsis of vellum manuscripts in the monastery of Rheinau, is entered the following:—

"No. 1. Missale antiquissimum sæc. viii.," with the remark, "Hoc missale ab aliquo Scoto scriptum S. Fintanus noster ex Scotiâ oriundus, forsan vel ipsemet scripsit, vel scriptum secum in monasterium nostrum Rhenoviense attulit."

The handwriting of this MS., however, is not exactly Irish, but Frankish, and belongs to the end of the 8th or beginning of the 9th century. The assertion, therefore, that this Missal is an Irish MS., and perhaps written by Fintan himself, or brought by him to the monastery of Rheinau is quite erroneous.

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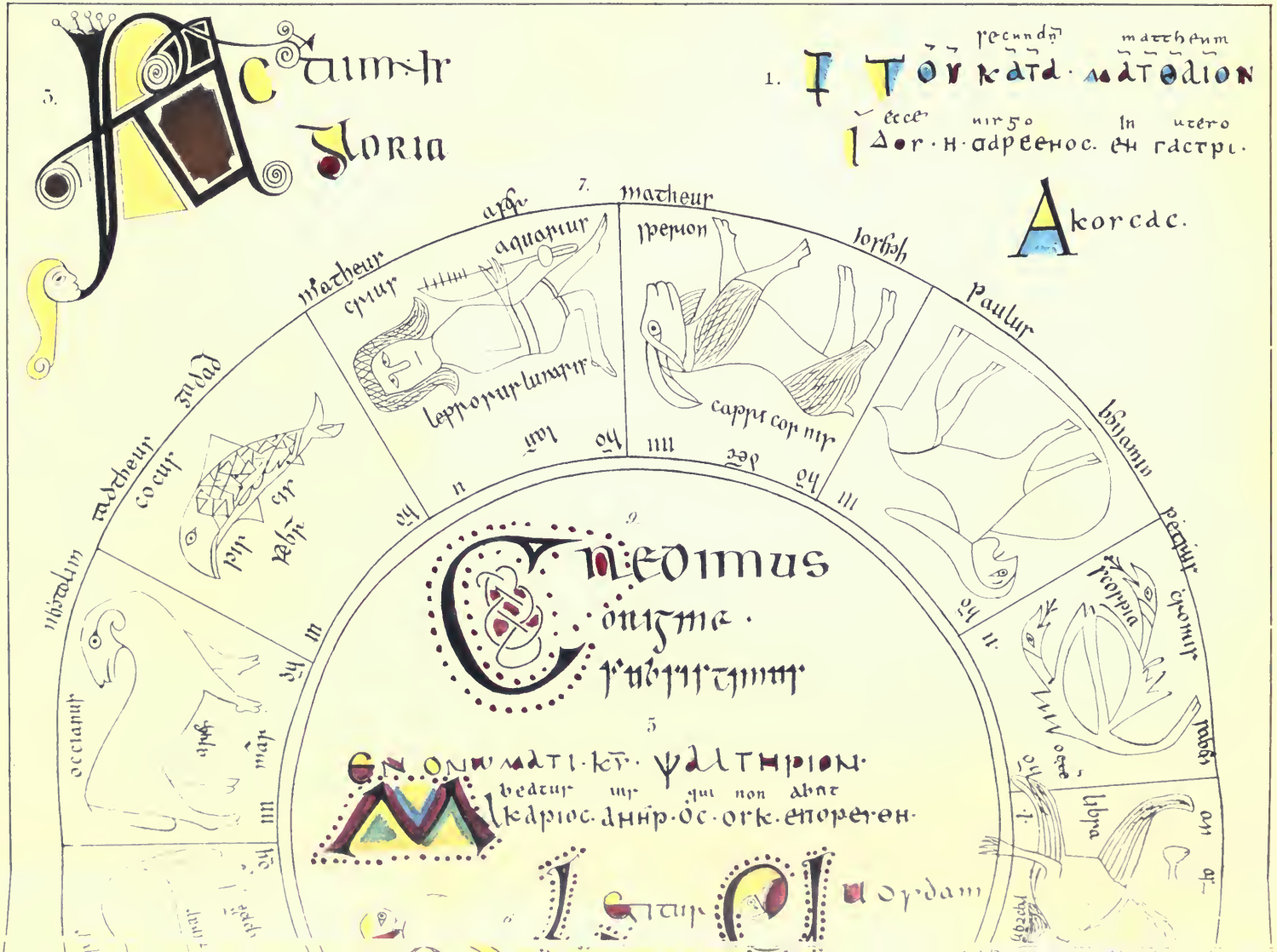
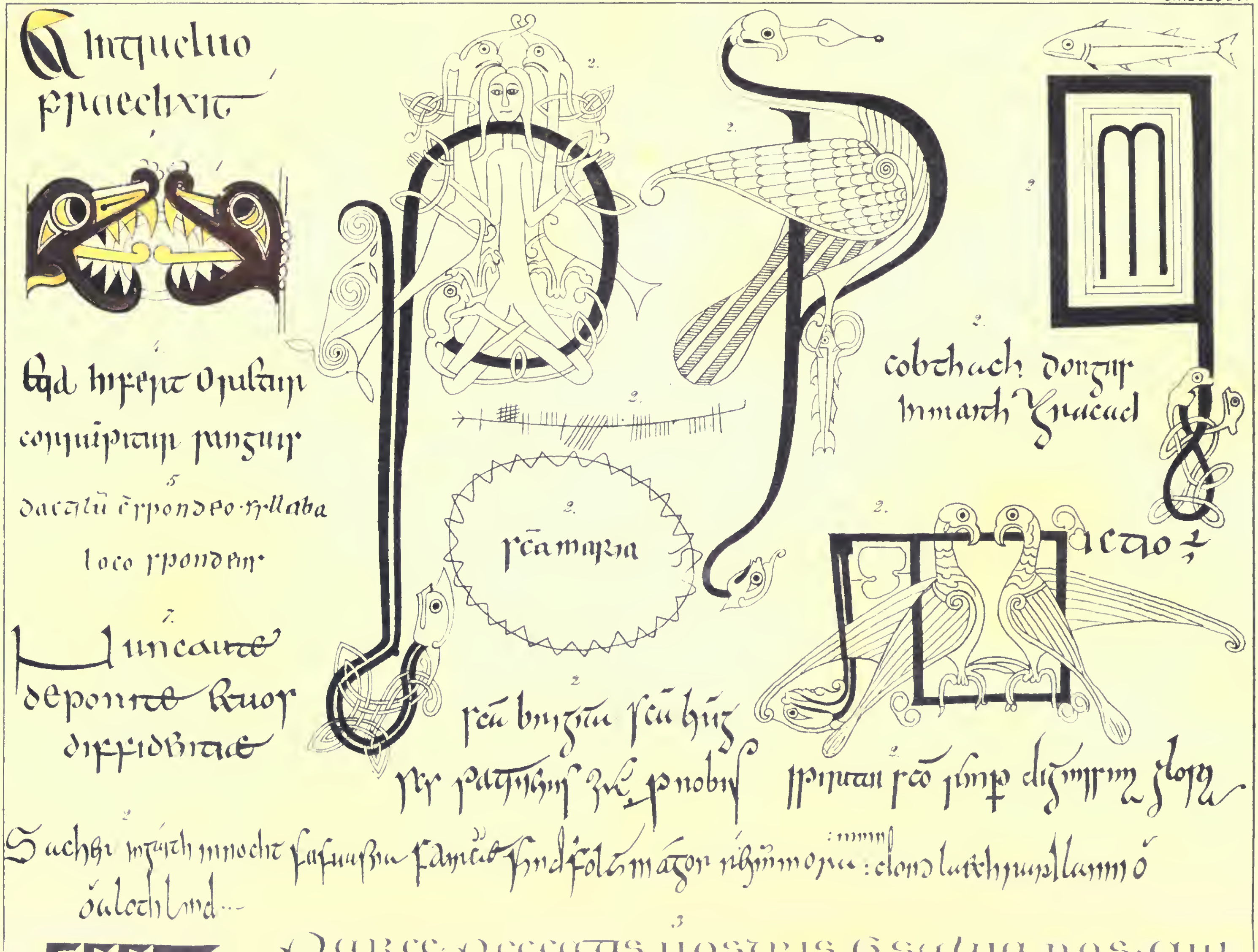
* These decorations are those given in our two previous Plates of illuminated Fac-similes.


3.
Caim-fr
Sloria
1.
secundꝰ matthæum
I T ōr katd · mAT θdION
ecce virgo in utero
I Aor · H · adpeenoc. eH ractpi.
Akorcdc.
7.
matheur
ipemon
lorfoh
Paulur
bfilamu
peqiur
enomur
pabbs
ogha
Ubha
matheur
cruir
aquamur
arfe
matheur
co cur
fadas
occiamur
mapc
Leppopur lumpur
cappi cop mir
Ho
Ho
Ho
Ho
Ho
Ho
Ho
Ho
III
III
II
II
III
III
II
II
9
Credimus
onigme ·
5
ONWMATI·KT· ΨALTHPION·
kdpioc. dHHp·Oc·ork.enopeteH·
Iordanis

SPECIMENS OF ANCIENT IRISH MANUSCRIPTS.



SPECIMENS OF ANCIENT IRISH MANUSCRIPTS.

It remains to be observed that the foregoing enumeration of Irish MSS. cannot make any pretension to completeness. On the contrary, it is probable that the libraries of the Swiss towns and monasteries still preserve many books written by Irish monks, the peculiarity of whose foreign character and northern origin has remained hitherto unnoticed. There is hardly a collection of old MSS. in the covers of which (either on the outside or inside) there may not be discovered fragments of Irish writings. A careful examination of these fragments might still obtain many valuable contributions, both to the history and ancient language of Ireland.

SUPPLEMENT.

Just as the printing of these sheets was completed, we received the 11th Number of the German Art-Journal (18th March, 1850), in which Dr. Waagen, whose knowledge of mediæval art is both profound and extensive, expresses himself with regard to the character and artistic value of Irish miniature paintings. We cannot refrain from giving, as an appendix from the *Art-Journal*, the passages of this communication which relate to Irish paintings in the St. Gall MSS., which we have just been describing:—

MINIATURE-PAINTING IN IRELAND.

"So far as I am aware, I was the first person who drew attention to the very remarkable peculiarity of the miniature-paintings in old Anglo-Saxon manuscripts.° Later researches, however, have led me to the conviction that both the origin and subsequent development of this peculiarity is, properly speaking, to be sought for in Ireland, from whence it was transplanted into England, and adopted by the Anglo-Saxons. It is well known that, as early as the year 432, through the instrumentality of St. Patrick, Christianity had taken firm root in Ireland, and had become very generally extended in that country at the year 500. In the course of the 6th century, the ecclesiastics of her numerous monasteries had distinguished themselves so much by their learning, piety, and religious zeal, that she became one of the most important seminaries for the farther propagation of Christianity. Thus, Saint Columbanus lived a long time in France, and was active as an apostle in Suabia, and particularly in the district of Bregenz, on the Bodensee. But this activity of the Irish monks was especially prosperous and widely extended during the seventh century, in which Christianity was successfully propagated by St. Aidan (from 635 to 651) and Finan, in the North of England, Lieven in Belgium, Willebrord in Friesland, and Kilian in France; and when St. Gall, a pupil of Columbanus, laid the foundation of the celebrated monastery in Switzerland called after his name. Nay, even in the eighth century, an Irishman, Fergal, or Virgilius, was bishop in Salzburg. In the numerous manuscripts which were written in these Irish monasteries was now gradually perfected that style of miniature-painting, so barbaric in its figures,

° See *Kunstwerke und Künstler in England und Paris*, I., p. 134 seq., and III., p. 241.

so rich in its ornamental devices, so admirable in its caligraphy, which I have more minutely described in the work already referred to. The oldest authenticated memorial of this art is a Book of Gospels in the National Library of Paris, which had belonged to St. Willibrord, but which, on account of its great resemblance to the so-called *Book of St. Cuthbert,* in the British Museum, I had described as a specimen of Anglo-Saxon art. During a more recent visit to Paris, I became convinced that the writing is unquestionably Irish, which indeed is most likely to be the case, since the book belonged to an Irish missionary. That the same is also the case with the pictorial decorations is not only extremely probable, but is placed beyond doubt by a comparison with some manuscripts in the library of St. Gall, a monastery founded by the Irish. One of these, —which is nearly of the same date as the Parisian one, and has, on the oak-binding, some extremely interesting sculptures in ivory (which I propose to describe in another place),—is written likewise in Irish characters, and contains, before the Gospel of John, the figure of that Evangelist quite in the style of art just referred to, only more barbarous. For, beyond the simple features, there is nothing more to be recognized of an actual human countenance. The arms are formed of two yellow stripes, carried inwards towards the waist, on which, where the hands ought to be, is seen the open Gospel, with the inscription "Johannes" upon it. The lower part of the body is indicated merely by four perpendicular parallel stripes, of a citron-yellow colour. The borders and initial letters are also of the same kind as those in the Paris MS., but much ruder. The manuscript comprises 70 pages, but in addition to the above, only contains the Gospel of Mark and some Glosses.

"The richest and most remarkable specimen of this art, however, which I know of, is a Book of Gospels (No. 51), of a folio shape approaching to quarto, and the *Irish* writing of which points to the end of the eighth century. In its 268 pages (written in one column, in minuscule characters), it contains, of pictures, the Four Evangelists, the Crucifixion, the Last Judgment; also several pages entirely covered with Illuminations, and a number of richly decorated borders and initial letters. The total absence of a proper conception of the forms of men and animals, and the inability to reproduce them, joined to the remarkably perfect taste in arabesque ornaments, and a rare knack in executing them, has here called forth deformities of a hideousness which no one can form an idea of, without having seen them. Thus, the several parts of the head, particularly the nose and mouth, are introduced quite freely as scroll-work, and without the smallest regard for natural probability; the dress is treated as a flat surface, on which the pattern of it is given symmetrically and mechanically, with thick strokes. Of the Evangelists, Mark, whose hair and beard are executed in an arabesque fashion, produces the most ghastly impression, and resembles a great muffled baboon. But Christ on the Cross[p] is a most monstrous representation. In the rude outline of the head there is no adherence to any type or model whatever; and from the arabesque-like swathings of the

[p] See specimens, Plate I.

purple garment which wraps the body, stick out the red arms and the dwarfish blue legs in the most revolting manner. On the other hand, in the Last Judgment, Christ is enthroned and arrayed in a bright purple dress with flowing folds, as in the picture of Matthew. While he gives the benediction according to the form of the Latin Church with his uplifted right hand, he supports with his left the Holy Scriptures and a Cross. But the ornamented pages, borders, and initial letters exhibit so correct an architectural feeling in the distribution of the parts, such a rich variety of beautiful and peculiar designs, so admirable a taste in the arrangement of the colours, and such an uncommon perfection of finish, that one feels absolutely struck with amazement. The border of Matthew contains one of the richest examples of that fine interlaced tracery so characteristic of Irish art, composed of the heads of serpents and birds biting each other. The initial letters on the page opposite, decorated in the same style, are among the most elegant of the kind. But the master-piece, without any doubt, is contained in the sixth page. In the centre, on a black ground (which often occurs in this manuscript, as well as in the Book of St. Cuthbert), appears a small Cross, filled up with spiral-shaped ornaments like those which are met with also in the Gospels of St. Willebrord.* Around this are four compartments, likewise on a black ground, filled with by far the richest and finest convolutions of serpents and interlaced scroll-work that I am acquainted with. These four compartments are each inclosed by a stripe of beautiful blue, and finally, encircling them, there is an extremely rich series of ornaments and scroll-work arranged admirably to fill up the space. The entire design produces a most pleasing effect. The yellow, which here evidently takes the place of gold, is, on the whole, the most prominent colour. The most deserving of notice after this specimen, is the page which contains the figure of Mark, inclosed by winged symbols of the four Evangelists, and which is distinguished for its exquisite arabesques in blue, yellow, and red, on a black ground. This remarkable MS. came to St. Gall in the year 967.

"Various circumstances leave no doubt now remaining in my mind that the figures, borders, and ornamented initials in the Book of St. Cuthbert (which is considered to be the master-piece of old Anglo-Saxon miniature-painting) have been executed either by Irish monks or by Anglo-Saxon monks who were pupils of the Irish. Its style of pictorial decoration corresponds in every respect with what has been described above, especially with the last-mentioned unquestionably Irish productions. But St. Cuthbert entered the monastery of Melrose-on-Tweed as a monk very young, when its abbot was Eata, a pupil of the Irishman St. Aedan, already alluded to: in fact, at a subsequent period (from 666 to 676), he filled the office of Prior in the abbey of Lindisfarne, which had been founded by St. Aedan, and where he had resided until his death. Now, along with the monastic learning of the Irish, the Irish style of writing and miniature-painting was also undoubtedly transplanted to Lindisfarne; and that it was still practised there in the time of St. Cuthbert is the more certain, as Aedan was succeeded, in 654, by another Irishman, Finan, as abbot and

* See Fac-Simile of Ornamentation.

bishop, who only died in 660 or 661, and consequently only a few years before the arrival of St. Cuthbert. Add to this, that among all the manuscripts which I have examined in the chief English libraries, whose pictorial style of illustration may be presumed to be of Anglo-Saxon origin on account of their text being in the Anglo-Saxon language, the Book of St. Cuthbert stands quite alone; while all the rest, although, indeed, not so wildly arabesque in their figures, appear not to be far removed in the ornaments from so fine and tasteful a development. On the other hand, it is extremely probable that, besides the three above mentioned, some genuine Irish MSS. may be met with elsewhere (most likely in libraries in Ireland), whose pictorial style corresponds with them.

"From the foregoing statements, it may be assumed as a settled fact that the style of ornamentation consisting of artistic convolutions and the mingled phantastic forms of animals, such as dragons, snakes, and heads of birds, of which we discover no trace in Græco-Roman art, was not only invented by the Celtic people of Ireland, but had attained a high development. The extraordinary influence exercised by this style on the Romanic as well as the German populations of the entire Middle Ages is well known, and is also easily explained. It was introduced and spread in all directions by those numerous seminaries for the propagation of Christianity, which emanated from Ireland; and the more so, as the Irish continued a long time to maintain a connection with their foundations abroad. Thus, in St. Gall, for instance, as late as the year 841, the Irish bishop Mark, with his companion, Moengal, in returning from a journey to Rome, took up his abode permanently in that monastery; and the latter was the teacher of the celebrated artists, the monks Notger the Stammerer, and Tutilo. This style of ornamentation must have recommended itself by its great elegance and beauty, as much as by its fantastic element, which suited the taste of the time. However, though this style, in numerous modifications, not only in painting but in carving, meets us everywhere, and extends over a long period, the arbitrary conception of the human form, on the other hand, which is so peculiar to Irish manuscripts, has fortunately had scarcely any imitator. This has arisen partly from the repulsiveness of such designs to the art-feeling of the German races, partly from the opposing force exercised by a traditionary recollection of the productions both of early Christian and Byzantine art. There is perhaps no place where the influence of the Irish decorative style might be traced in so many gradations as in a series of manuscripts in the library of St. Gall. I hope to refer to this more particularly in my History of Miniature-painting."

ANTIQUARIAN NOTES AND QUERIES.

The Natural Riches of Ireland.—George Phillips, of Limmevaddy, in his letter addressed to the English Parliament, in 1689, on "The Interest of England in the Preservation of Ireland," encourages colonization by setting forth "the fertility and plenty" of the land and sea. "The ground, without the midwifery of human art, is abundant in its produce; and where the husbandman hath clubbed his invention and labour, it is rather luxuriant, rendering a mighty increase of all sorts of grain, very sound and very good. The seas are plentifully stored with fish of all kinds, and the markets supply'd with such plenty and variety as might satiate the luxury and prodigality of Lucullus." He describes the vast quantities of fresh-water fish in the lakes, and proceeds—"If men (as justly they may,) become doubtful, scrupulous, and incredulous, when I make mention of the extraordinary Pilchard fishings in the South, and the Herring fishings in the North, my credit will certainly run a great risque, and my veracity be suspected, when I relate the wonders of the deep, and come to speak of the prodigious fishings for Salmon and Eels, in the rivers of Logh Foyl and the Bann. Six thousand barrels of Pilchards were made up in one year in the County Cork; in Connaught the quantities taken are so great that, not having salt, they put them in heaps and manure the land; and (beside the plentifull fishing of Herrings in and about the Bay of Dublin, the Skerryes, Carlingford, and all the northern coast) they have usually made and sent away, in one year, two thousand tuns of Herrings from the single fishing of Dunfanaghan; then, undoubtedly, they will smile and ridicule me, when I tell them that there is made, commonly, five hundred tuns of Salmon in Logh Foyl and the Bann, and other rivers in the County of Londonderry; that, besides the Royal Piscary of the Bann, there are between Colrane and Loghneagh seventy Salmon fishings; that there are the same round about that Lough, which is sixty miles in compass; that at the Leap of Colrane, ten tuns of Salmon have been taken at one draught of a net; that the last year, at Grebbin, twelve miles beyond Londonderry, two and thirty hogsheads of Salmon were taken at once, and for want of room in their boats, a great part of them were thrown again into the river; that in the Eel-weres in the river Bann, four score thousand Eels have been catcht in one night. But I have spoken modestly, and within compass, and there are too many witnesses (much against their wills) now in England and Scotland, who can confirm the truth of what I have declared. I am loath to pass by the Salmon-Pound (commonly called the Cutt), near Colrane, because, as I conceive, such another thing is not in the world. It is a great trough, made like a tanner's vat, about fifty foot long, twenty foot wide, and six deep; a stream of the river Bann runs through it, and at the place where the water enters, a row of stakes are placed very near together, like a rack in a stable,

at the other end of the Cutt, a parcel of sharp spikes are cluster'd together, very close at the points and wide at the head, so that the Salmon (who always swim against the stream) and other fish may get in at pleasure, but can neither return the way they get in, nor get out at the other end: whereby it happens that on Monday morning (there being a respite to fishing all Sunday, and none taken out of the Cutt with their loops), a stranger would be astonished to see an innumerable company of fish riding on the backs of one another, even to the top of the water, and with great ease and pleasant divertisements taken up in loops. All these prodigious quantities of fish are but collected for the use of England, to whose ports or to whose order they are yearly consigned and distributed." The writer describes "the incredible store of Land and Sea Fowls (among which I would mention the incredible number of Woodcocks, and how the Parson of Clownish farms the Tyth of the Woodcocks catcht in his Parish at Thirty pounds per annum,* where they are generally sold at Twelve Pence per dozen; the innumerable Flocks of Swans and Barnicles that haunt the river of Loghfoyl, but that it would exclude the wonder due to the rest)." Further on he states, that "The Islands and Plantations in America are in a manner wholly sustained by the vast quantities of Beef, Pork, Butter, and other provisions of the product of Ireland: from whence an unspeakable benefit redounds to England by the vast cargoes of the goods of the said Plantations returned thither, and the great consumption of those goods being shipped out of England into Ireland." He then tells us of the "mighty quantities of Tallow, Hides, Tann'd Leather, Skins of several sorts, Yarn, Hemp, Linnen Cloths, Cony-skins, and other Furrs, yearly shipt from Ireland, and exported into England." Referring again to the fish, he says—"The cargoes of Salmon, Herrings, Pilchards, Eels, and other Fish made up yearly in Ireland, and transported into several ports in Spain, to Venice, and all the ports of the Mediterranean Sea, would startle common belief. I have heard from faithful relation, that in the South of Ireland they have made in a year near eight hundred Tuns of Pilchards. A person of great quality (whose judgment and credit no man will dispute) did aver to me that in one season £16,000 was paid for the Pilchards taken on the South side of Cork, and the most of it by Sir John Frederick, of London. That in one port in the North, called Dunfanaghan, they have made, in one season, two thousand Tuns of Herrings. And I was told by a very honest and intelligent person, (who, in the reign of Charles II., was Collector of the Port of Londonderry,) that in that one place there was shipt off in one season 450 Tuns of Salmon, 400 Tuns of Herrings, and 80 Tuns of Eels. These things are undeniable, and perfectly true in matter of fact. I know one particular man, who, in one town, in one season, made up eleven hundred Tuns of Butter by commission, and as a factor for some merchants in England."

* From this statement, it appears that the "Parson of Clownish," in order merely to realize his £30, must have bagged 3,600 brace, and the general slaughter throughout the parish must, each season, have exceeded 36000 brace.

Swallows.—Plutarch *(Symp.* 8, 7*)* attributes a dislike of swallows to the Pythagoreans, as a peculiarity. He assigns various reasons for this antipathy; the most plausible of which is that the bird is a type of inconsistency and ingratitude; making its nest and rearing its young in our houses, and yet refusing to be tamed, and ultimately forsaking its abode with us. He remarks that Pythagoras was an Etruscan: it will be remembered that some have thought there was a particular connection between the ancient Etruscans and the Irish. N.B.—The Hebrew name for a swallow also signifiies "liberty," and is nearly the same as that for a "thistle."

Tereus.

Early Use of Coal [vol. viii., p. 273].—Mr. Cosmo Innes says (in his *Scotland in the Middle Ages*):—"The earliest mention I have found of coal-works in Scotland is in a charter of 1291, granted by William de Oberwill, Lord of Pettincrieff, to the monks of Dunfermline. The monks are to dig for coal wherever they choose, except arable land, but only for their own use, and not for sale. This has usually been considered as the earliest notice of the working of coal in Scotland. The words by no means give the impression of its being a recent discovery; and, from the peculiarly exposed situation of the coal in some of our old coal fields,—about Preston and Tranent especially,—it can scarcely be supposed to have escaped notice so long in a country where fuel was so necessary." He adds, that "sea-coal *(carbones marini)* were bought for the castle of Berwick, in 1265." Carbonaro.

MacAuley.—The writer of "Gleanings of Family History," in a late Number of the *Journal*, (vol. viii. p. 196,) seems to labour under some uncertainty about the descent of the MacAuleys; and I would beg to remark that the Antrim sept called by this name in English are not MacAulays proper. The English equivalent of their name is *MacAuliffe*, (*i.e.* "Son of Olaf,") as it is sometimes written. This is obviously a Scandinavian designation; whereas, the genuine *MacAuleys* are a purely Celtic tribe, of the aboriginal stock, being descendants of Amhalgaidh, as the writer himself notes, their patrimonial inheritance having been the district of "Tyrawley," which derives even its modern name from their historic ancestor. The name *Macamlay*, or *MacCamley*, is only an Anglicised form of MacAmhalgaidh, first adopted by English-speaking colonists, who did not understand the pronunciation of the Irish orthography, and eventually accepted by owners of the name, just as numerous other family designations have became metamorphosed in accommodation to peculiar modes of spelling. In the old Scotch orthography, for example, the letter z had the force of our modern y; and when the latter resumed its place in the Scotch alphabet, restoring to z its primitive sound, not a few family names became radically altered in consequence. The Gaelic *MacCoinnich* passed into *MacKenzie*, the old Anglicised spelling being retained with an altered pronunciation; *Menny* appeared as 'Menzie,' or 'Menzies,' under similar circumstances; and *Dalyell*, in common with various other names, underwent a like transformation. MacN.

Archery in Ireland.—Before the introduction of fire-arms, bows and arrows were in use in Ireland as well as elsewhere, and their use

was regulated by numerous statutes. Thus, (5 Ed. iv., chap. 4) every man from 16 to 60 years of age was bound to have a bow of his own length, with 12 shafts, each three quarters of the standard yard in length: the bows, if possible, to be of "Ewe, Wyeh-hassell, Ashe, or Auburne." Another Act (10 Hen. vii. chap. 9,) requires every man, having property to the amount of £10, to be provided with a bow and sheaf of arrows; of £20, to have also a jack and sallet; of £4 annual income, a horse in addition to these. Every lord, knight, and esquire was bound to provide for each yeoman in their service a jack, a sallet, a bow and arrows; in every barony two wardens of the peace are appointed, in every parish a constable; and shooting-butts in every parish, at which the people are to practice some hours on each holiday. At one time the implements of archery were scaree, and every merchant was obliged to bring bows and arrows in the proportion of a shilling in the pound value, as compared with his merchandise; and, in case of neglect, he was to pay the value of the bows, half to the searcher and half to the informer.

Queries.—Can any one still identify the site of the parish butts in the neighbourhood of the older Irish towns? Most likely the term would be retained in the name of a field or street. The bows were to be a fistmell (?) between the nocks. Does that mean a hand breadth, at the spot where the left hand grasped? A. H.

Dingley-cootch.—In the North of Ireland this is an indefinite expression—"To send a man to Dingletycootch," — like sending him to Coventry, — being a remove anywhere. The term is as indefinite in geography as "Tibb's Eve" in chronology. Yet, like almost every similar expression, it had a rational and historic origin, which is connected with the healthful and interesting town of Dingle, in the County of Kerry. A tract of land was granted by one of the earls of Desmond to an Englishman of the name of Hussey, and from a castle which he built there, it was called *Dangean-na-Cushey* [the castle of Hussey]. In 1585, in an Act of Elizabeth's reign, which describes where wine may be discharged, only sixteen ports or places are mentioned, the last of which is "Dingle-Icoush, otherwise called Dinglenehussie." (In all Ulster, there is only Carrickfergus enumerated.) The philologist will not fail to notice in the transformations of this term the interchanges of letters, the liquids *e* and *n*, in the first word, *u* and *t* in the copula, and *h* and *c* [viz. *k*] as well as *s* and *teh*, in the second word. Also, an important law of geographical terms is illustrated,—first a full description, then an abbreviation. A. H.

The Wren [vol. vii., p. 77].—In Welsh, as already stated by a correspondent, the word *dryw* signifies both a "wren" and a "druid." An old superstitious feeling in Wales forbids the taking of a wren's nest as unlucky:—

"Neb a dyno nyth y dryw
Ni cheiff iechyd yn ei fyw."
"He that takes a wren's nest
Will have no health all his life."

Druids and their habitations were held in high respect, and this saying may figuratively express "the house of a druid" by the "wren's nest."

Morgan.

ANSWERS TO QUERIES.

Hogmanay [vol. vii., p. 16; vol. viii., p. 75, 150].—The following passage in Robinson's *Elements of Mechanical Philosophy* bears on this subject [vol. i., p. 211]:—"In almost all nations . . . the winter solstice . . . is distinguished by festivals of various kinds . . . . In France, till within these 150 years, there were still more perceptible traces. A man, personating a prince *(Roi follet)*, set out from the village into the woods, bawling out, '*Au Gui menez, le Roi le veut.*' The monks followed in rear with their begging boxes, called *tire-liri*. They rattled them, crying '*tire-liri, tire-liri—maint du blanc et point du bis,*' and the people put money into them, under the fiction that it was for a lady in labour. People in disguise *(Guisards)* forced into the houses, playing antic tricks, and bullied the inhabitants for money and for choice victuals, crying 'tire-liri, &c.' They made such riots that the Bishop of Soissons represented the enormities to Louis XIV., and the practice was forbidden. May not the 'guisearts' of Edinburgh, with their cry of '*Hogmenay, troll lollay, gie's your white bread, nane o' your grey,*' be derived from this?" Some one derives *Hogmanay* from the Greek *Hagia Méné*, the moon. The Munster "wren-boys" on St. Stephen's day, with their cry of "The wren, the wren, the king of all birds," has also a strong resemblance to this *Roi follet*.

T. H. P.

Leaze [Queries, vol. viii., p. 238].—This word is still commonly used in some of the English counties for "to glean." Seeing some women in a newly-reaped field this year, in Shropshire, I asked a man what they were doing, and he replied that they were "leazing."

R. M.

"Leasing" or "leazing" was an old English word for "gleaning." As a doubtful guess at its origin, I venture to suggest the French "lisser," Italian "lisciare," to polish. May there not also be some connexion between the words "glean" and "clean"? To glean is, in Latin, "spicas *legere*." From "*legere*" to "leaze" the transition seems rather violent, but not impossible. Or from *ligare*, to bind, may "leasing," in this sense, be derived? like the words "lease" and "leash." "Leasing," in the sense of "lying," seems allied to the Spanish *lisonja*, a lie.

Tyro.

Cash [Queries, vol. viii., p. 238].—"Cash" is at present used in Tyrone to denote a covered drain made to leave a passage for water in wet ground or bog. May it not be connected with the French *cache*, used in North America for a covered hollow under ground? Query, is the word used in the Lowlands of Scotland?

Tyro.

Ymnake [Queries, vol. viii., p. 238].—This word may be from the Gaelic *iomainiche*, a cattle-driver, a drover: or possibly from *iomral-*

laiche, a wanderer, a vagabond; or from *inmheach*, *inbheach*, noble, high in rank. There was a class of men in Ireland, of old families, called by old English writers, "Idlemen,"—like the Spanish *hidalgos*—too proud to work, and too poor to maintain themselves, who lived from house to house among the people, and must have been a heavy burden on their hosts. The word "Idleman" comes very near the German *edelmann*, a nobleman. Were these the "Ymnakes?" or, as the Irish *imchian* means remote, distant, may they have been so designated, as being a people from a foreign country, *cineadh ó ait imchian?* TYRO.

QUERIES.

Some time ago, I made the following notes from a *Guide to Belfast*, published by John Henderson: is any thing known of the places, or are any remains to be seen at the spots mentioned?

"Chapel of Kilwee, three miles from Belfast, on the Falls Road."

"Chapel of Cranock, on the Falls Road, near Callender's Fort."

"Capella Crookmuck, Upper Malone."

"Capella de Kilpatrick, near Strandmills."

I wish also to inquire whether any of your correspondents can inform me what kind of division "Malone" is; it is not a parish, and it is not marked on maps. J. W. M.

I beg to ask Mr. WINDELE what he alludes to under the name of the "Irish Triads," [vol. viii., p. 119]? I thought that this kind of composition was peculiar to Welsh literature. CYMRO.

Can any correspondent inform me what was "Saint Patrick's Book of Proverbs," and if it be still extant? ERASMUS.

END OF VOL. VIII.

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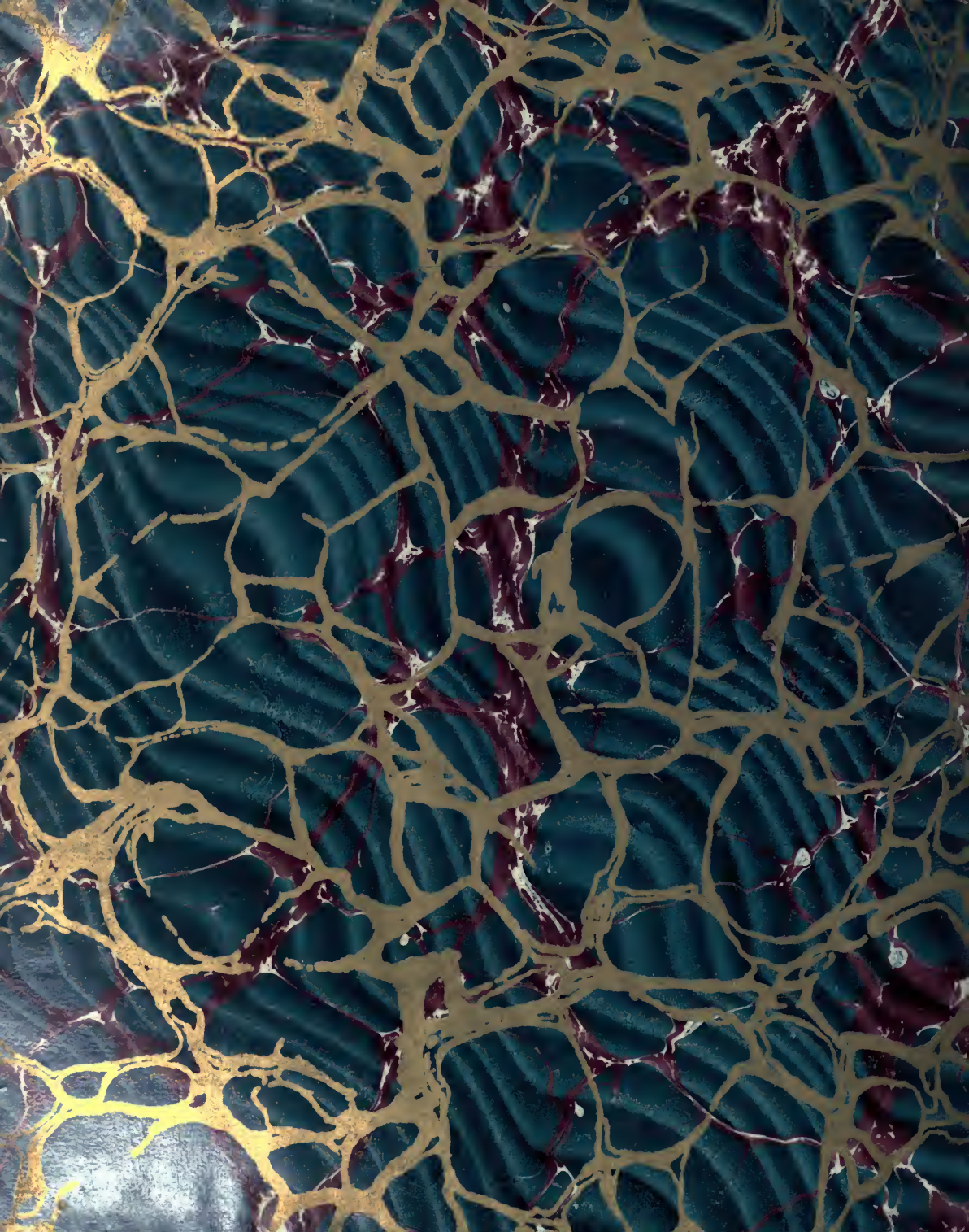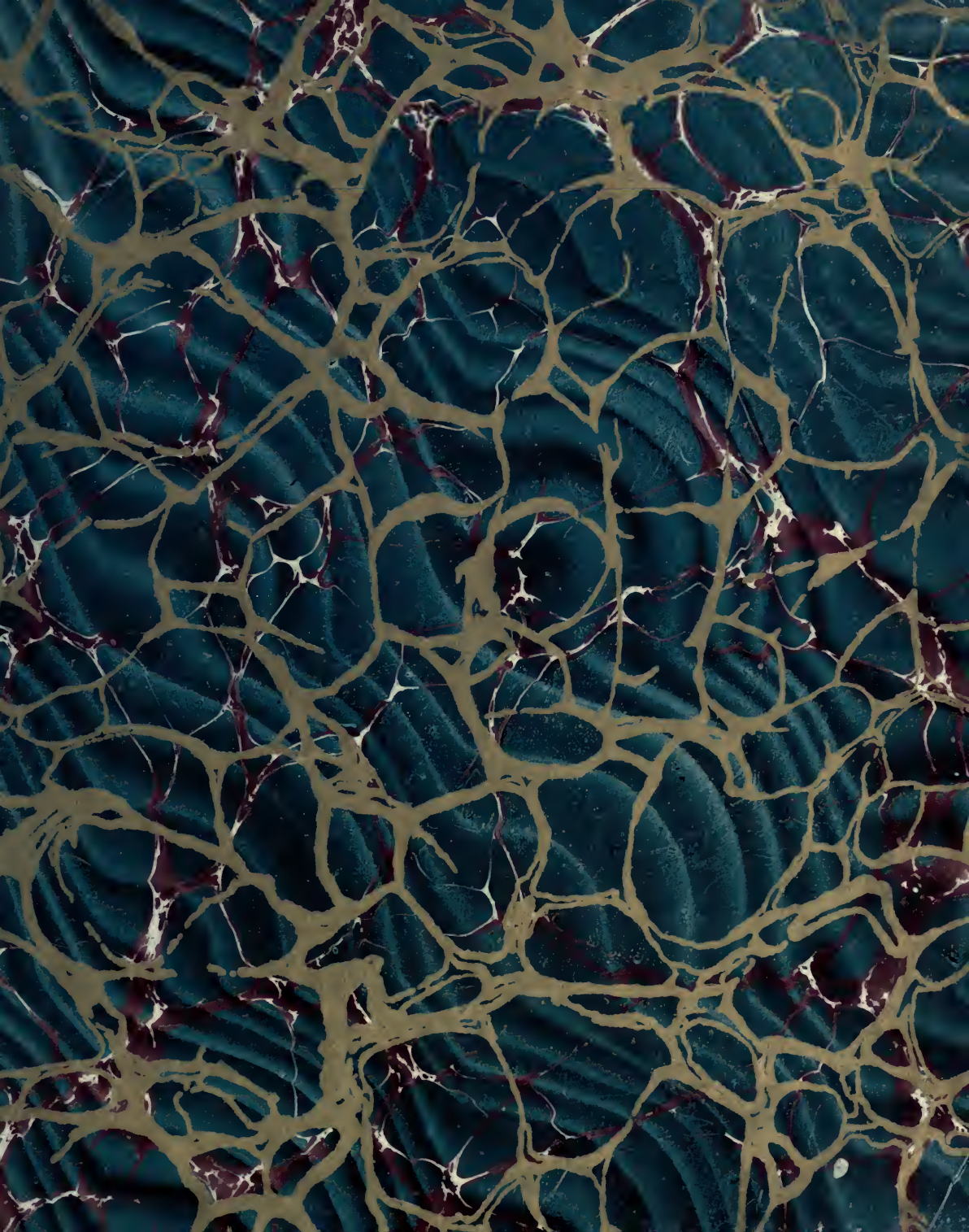
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